



**DECOLONIZATION OF ENGLISH: A PSYCHOLINGUISTIC
STUDY OF INDIAN ENGLISH'S SHIFT TO
LINGUISTIC PLURALITY**

**ABSTRACT
THESIS**

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

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BY

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ABSTRACT

Language is one of the most important areas of human development. Our communication skills set us apart from the rest of the animal kingdom, and they are also what bring us together with each other. Language shapes thoughts and emotions, determining one's perception of reality. It is the light of the mind. Language is not only a vehicle for the expression of thoughts, perceptions, sentiments, and values characteristic of a community; it also represents a fundamental expression of social identity.

Language is an expression of man in words. It is a semiogenic process, which helps man to understand himself and the world. Language has limitless uses. Its shades of meaning include indicative, emotive and symbolic. Since man is a thinking animal, he is a talking animal too and he has to exploit language to its fullest possible extent.

Accident or providence; at the beginning of the third millennium English has clearly established itself as the leading language of the world. English is one such language, which because of its multifarious facets and universal features has these days, become most useful to the welfare of mankind. The general characteristics of English are that it is extraordinarily receptive and it has an adaptable heterogeneousness. However English was a pure language when Anglo-Saxons first conquered England in 5th Century AD, today it is the most mixed of the languages. A second outstanding feature of English is its simplicity of inflexion. Its relatively fixed word-order is its third hallmark. It has round about ways of saying due to the loss of inflexions. It uses prepositions. A fifth quality of English is the development of new varieties of intonations for expressing shades of meaning, which were formerly indicated by varying the shapes of words. These five features have made English so much popular that today it is spoken by the largest number of people all over the world.

English in India is not simply a linguistic phenomenon. It gains more dimensions when we examine its goals and implementation on the temporal plane. English in India has a "Colonial" past and a "Decolonized" second

language present. A multilingual, multicultural, multireligious, and multiethnic, Indian society has decolonized English in India. Therefore the process of decolonization has a shade of linguistic plurality. As a result there is no “the English” any more in the world. English has about sixty percent lexicon which is not Anglo Saxon at all. Indian languages have enriched the variety of English in India.

In this study an attempt will be made to analyze the psycholinguistic aspects of Decolonization of English in India, where the linguistic plurality dominates the linguistic purism. We will also try to analyze the linguistic features of Colonial and Decolonized English to highlight the similarities and dissimilarities between the two.

Chapter One will study English language - its geographical distribution, its varieties and how English is being used as a global language. Following this we will discuss Indian English and its status in the world scenario, the arrival of English in India, words which are unique to Indian English, Indian English literature and British and American influences on Indian English. The next portion of this chapter will deal with the aims and objectives of the present work, its theoretical background, followed by review of the existing material and relevance of the present work.

In Chapter Two we will briefly discuss Queen’s English, Received Pronunciation followed by a fundamental article on two established varieties of English, i.e., British English and American English, their sound system, word formation processes, sentence structure and so on. The next section of this chapter will focus on the differences between these two varieties of English; differences at phonetic, grammatical and syntactic levels respectively.

In Chapter Three an attempt will be made to discuss the process of decolonization of English in India and how Indian English writers have employed decolonization as a communicative strategy. Following this we will discuss Decolonized English. This will be followed by a section on the linguistic peculiarities of Indian English, which includes phonetics and

phonology of Indian English, grammar of Indian English, lexis of Indian English and some other features typical to Indian English such as reduplication, linguistic politeness codes in Indian English and myths and caste in Indian English.

Decolonization is part of a deliberate anti-colonial strategy. It is a step in the process of the dismantling of the imperialist centralism. Decolonization is a mental process, a deliberate attempt to break free of the shackles of the colonization, therefore establishing a free status. It is employed as a communicative strategy by the writers, a tool to create a language of their own and their own way of looking at things. The language of decolonized writers registers a deliberate and calculated shift from the norm and standard of conventional language. The post-colonial writers consider language a plaything, to be twisted, turned and moulded as required for the purpose. They are no longer worried about the correctness of English language and are playfully free of the rules and regulations of English language writing. In decolonizing the English language, the post-colonial writers employ various linguistic strategies like using a number of native words, translating certain characteristic expressions, idioms and sayings of native languages into English and imposing the native speech rhythms of the English language spoken by the native characters. The motivation in the use of native words and expressions is the deliberate attempt on the writer's part to convey native-ness.

Chapter Four will study the Psycho-communicative aspect of decolonization. It will discuss the communicative relevance of the decolonization. It will be followed by a discussion on verbal patterns of speakers in plurilingual societies. The next portion of this chapter will deal with different facets of language like language as a communicative system, language as an aesthetic experience and language as a vehicle of identity gratification.

The English spoken in countries, which have once been colonies of British Empire, provides a prototypical case in point for the study of how a language can become an adaptive instrument for its speakers. It is the language of these

countries that has come, predictably, often under the linguist's microscope, providing valuable insights into the general nature of linguistic adaptation mechanisms. The use of English in these countries reveals an interesting case of how a "transplanted" language can come to fulfill a basic practical need to express a new psycholinguistic experience.

The patterns of decolonized English are shaped and dictated by the communicative need in a plurilingual context. The use of English in India reveals an interesting case of how a "transplanted" language can come to fulfill a basic practical need to express a new psycholinguistic experience. In a plurilingual interaction no single language caters to all the needs of the participant. The dynamics of plural communication is characterized by the complimentary use of more than one language, and English in the post-colonial era no longer remains an "autonomous" mode of communication, as it is in the native world.

In Chapter Five we will aim at summarizing the discussions carried out in earlier chapters and draw conclusion from the deliberation carried out in different sections of this study. The conclusion will include a resume of the entire thesis and the analysis that how far has decolonization been employed by Indian English writers to create a niche of their own, how far do they drift away from the so-called standard varieties of British English and American English and how their English is colored by their individual thoughts, ideologies, social and cultural background and nationalist attitudes.



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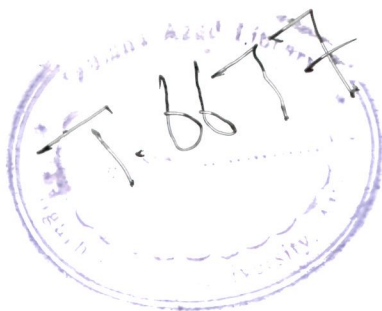
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2006



T6677

*Dedicated
to my
Parents*

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(Prof. A.R. Fatihi)
Supervisor 27 Nov 06

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CHAPTER 1

Language is an expression of man in words. It is a semiogenic process, which helps man to understand himself and the world. Language has limitless uses. Its shades of meaning include indicative, emotive and symbolic. Since man is a thinking animal, he is a talking animal too and he has to exploit language to its fullest possible extent.

1. .1 English language

English is the dominant language of the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, the Republic of Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and a number of other countries. It is extensively used as a second language and as an official language in many other countries, and is the most widely taught and understood language in the world, often earning it the title “the language of trade, academia and diplomacy.”

An estimated 300-400 million people speak English as their first language. One recent estimate is that 1.9 billion people, nearly a third of the world's population, have a basic proficiency in English. English is the dominant international language in communications, science, business, aviation, entertainment, diplomacy and the internet. It has been one of the official languages of the United Nations since its founding in 1945.

English originated in England, and is a West Germanic language which developed from Old English, the language of the Anglo-Saxons. As a result of the Norman Conquest and other events in English history, it has been heavily influenced, more than any other Germanic language, by French and Latin. From England it spread to the rest of the British Isles, then to the colonies and territories of the British Empire (both outside and inside the current Commonwealth of Nations) such as the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and others, particularly those in the Anglophone Caribbean. As a result of these historical developments English is the official language (sometimes one of several) in many countries formerly under British or

American rule, such as Pakistan, Ghana, India, Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, and the Philippines.

English was spread to many parts of the world through the expansion of the British Empire, but it did not acquire a lingua franca status in other parts of the world until the late 20th century. Following World War II the economic and cultural influence of the United States increased dramatically and English permeated other cultures, chiefly through the development of telecommunications technology. Because a working knowledge of English is required in many fields and occupations, education ministries around the world mandate the teaching of English to at least a basic level.

English is one such language, which because of its multifarious facets and universal features has these days, become most useful to the welfare of mankind. The general characteristics of English are that it is extraordinarily receptive and it has an adaptable heterogeneousness. However English was a pure language when Anglo-Saxons first conquered England in 5th Century AD, today it is the most mixed of the languages. A second outstanding feature of English is its simplicity of inflexion. Its relatively fixed word-order is its third hallmark. It has round about ways of saying due to the loss of inflexions. It uses prepositions. A fifth quality of English is the development of new varieties of intonations for expressing shades of meaning, which were formerly indicated by varying the shapes of words. These five features have made English so much popular that today it is spoken by the largest number of people all over the world

1.1.1 Geographical distribution of English

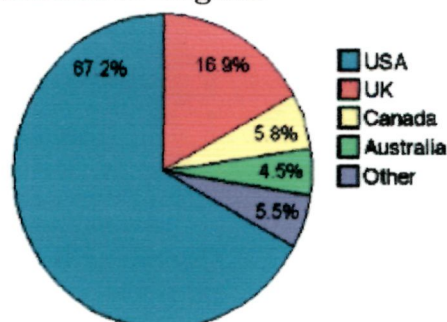


Figure: 1

Distribution of first-language native English speakers by country.¹

English is currently the second most commonly spoken language in the world. It has over 500 million speakers. It is behind only Chinese, which distributes a colossal one billion plus speakers. The current status of the English language at the start of the new millennium compares with that of Latin in most of Western Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire. English is also the most widely used language for young backpackers who travel across continents, regardless of whether it is their mother tongue or a secondary language.

Although the language is named after England, the United States now has more first-language English speakers than the rest of the world combined. The United Kingdom comes second, with England indeed comprising the plurality of its English speakers. Canada is third and Australia fourth, with these four comprising 95% of native English speakers. Of those nations where English is spoken as a second language, India has the most such speakers (of “Indian English”) and now has more people who speak or understand English than any other country. India is followed by China, the Phillipines, Germany and the United States (by way of most of its speakers having it as a first language.)

English is the primary language in Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia (Australian English), the Bahamas, Barbados (Caribbean English), Bermuda, Belize, the British Indian Ocean Territory, the British Virgin Islands, Canada (Canadian English), the Cayman Islands, Dominica, the Falkland Islands, Gibraltar, Grenada, Guernsey, Guyana, Isle of Man, Jamaica (Jamaican English), Jersey, Montserrat, New Zealand (New Zealand English), Ireland (Hiberno-English), Pitcairn Islands, Saint Helena, Saint Lucia, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, the Turks and Caicos Islands, the United Kingdom (various forms of British English), the U.S. Virgin Islands and the United States (various forms of American English.)

In many other countries, where English is not a first language, it is an official language; these countries include Pakistan, Cameroon, Fiji, the Federated States of Micronesia, Ghana, Gambia, India, Kiribati, Lesotho, Liberia, Kenya,

Namibia, Nigeria, Malta, the Marshall Islands, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Rwanda, the Solomon Islands, Samoa, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

English is also an important minority language of South Africa (South African English), and in several other former colonies or current dependent territories of the United Kingdom and the United States, for example, Hong Kong, Singapore, Mauritius, and the Philippines.

In Asia, former British colonies like Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia English is used either as an official language or a de facto common language, and it is taught in all private and public schools as a mandatory subject. There are a considerable number of native English speakers in urban areas in both countries. In Hong Kong, English is co-official with Chinese, and is widely used in business activities. It is taught from infant school and kindergarten, and is the medium of instruction for a few primary schools, many secondary schools and all universities. Substantial number of students reach native-speaker fluency. It is so widely used that it is inadequate to say that it is merely a second or foreign language, though there is still a percentage of people in Hong Kong with poor or little command of English.

English is the most widely learned and used foreign language, and as such, some linguists believe that it is no longer the exclusive cultural sign of “native English speakers”, but is rather a language that is absorbing aspects of cultures world-wide as it continues to grow. Others believe there are limits to how well English can go in suiting everyone for communication purposes. English is the language most often studied as a foreign language in the European Union (by 89% of schoolchildren), followed by French (32%), German (18%), and Spanish (8%). It is also the most studied in China, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. English is also compulsory for most secondary school students in China and Taiwan. English is today the third most widely distributed language as a first spoken language in the world, after Mandarin and Hindi. Something around 600 million people use the various dialects of English regularly. About

377 million people use one of the versions of English as their mother tongue, and a similar number of people use one of them as their second or foreign language as well. English is used widely in either the public or private sphere in more than 100 countries.

1.1.2 Varieties of English

American English, Canadian English, Australian English, New Zealand English, Hawaiian English, Caribbean English, Indian English, Jamaican English, Scottish English, South African English and Pidgin English are among the many newer English dialects that have emerged since the period of emigration from the British Isles during the expansion of British Empire. Dialect differences are not, in general, an impediment to understanding among the newer overseas dialects, which are for the most part, linguistically very close to each other since, apart from Pidgin, they are mainly based on Standard English.

British English is used to denote what is more precisely known as Commonwealth English. Commonwealth English refers to the language written in most of the English speaking world, including Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the United Kingdom. The language may vary slightly from country to country or even between those countries, regions, states, provinces and territories, but it is in all cases distinct from American English. Commonwealth English is mostly interchangeable with British English and where “Britons” is used, “inhabitants of the Commonwealth” might be more accurate. Commonwealth English is also used by countries and organizations, such as Ireland and the European Union, whose use of English is most influenced by U.K.

Although American and British English are generally mutually intelligible, there are enough differences between the two varieties to occasionally cause misunderstandings or even a complete failure to communicate. George Bernard Shaw said that the United States and United Kingdom are “two countries divided by a common language.”

Some words shared by all English speakers are *spelled* one way by Americans but are *spelt* differently in other English speaking countries. American words, ending in *-or* may end in *-our* in Commonwealth English. For example, in American English, one would use *color, flavor, honor* whereas in Commonwealth English one would use *colour, flavour* and *honour*. In addition, Americans replace “ou” with “o” in derivated and inflected forms such as *favorite, savory* in American English versus *favourite, savoury* in Commonwealth English. One exception is *glamour*, which is usually spelled that way in American English as well as in Commonwealth English.

Collective nouns such as *team* and *company* that describe multiple people are often used with the plural form of a verb in British English, particularly where one is concerned with the people constituting the team, rather than with the team as a corporate entity; the singular form is used in most cases in American English. Example: British “the team are concerned”; American “the team is concerned.”

American English allows *do* as a substitute for *have* (the full verb, in the sense of *possess.*) Example: American: “Do you have any food? Yes, I do”; British: “Have you (got) any food? Yes, I have.”

Americans tend to write “Mr.”, “Mrs.”, “St.”, “Dr.” etc, while most British will write “Mr”, “Mrs”, “St”, “Dr” (or even “D’r”). While saying or writing out numbers, the British will put an “and” before the tense and ones, as in “one hundred and sixty-two” and “two thousand and three,” whereas Americans go with “one hundred sixty-two” and “two-thousand three.” Both British and American English use the expression, “I couldn’t care less” to mean the speaker does not care at all. In American English, the phrase “I could care less” (without the “n’t”) is synonymous with this, while in British English, “I could care less” is most certainly not synonymous with this and might be interpreted as anything from nonsense to an indication that the speaker does care.

The influence of the British Empire, and Commonwealth of Nations, as well as the primacy of the United States, especially since World War II, has spread

English throughout the globe. Because of that global spread, English has developed a host of English dialects and English-based creole languages and pidgins.

The major varieties of English each include, in most cases, several sub varieties, such as Cockney slang within British English, Newfoundland English, and the English spoken by Anglo-Québecers within Canadian English, and African American Vernacular English ("Ebonics") and Southern English within American English. English is a pluricentric language, without a central language authority like France's Académie française and although no variety is clearly considered the only standard, there are a number of accents considered as more formal, such as Received Pronunciation in Britain or the Bostonian dialect in the U.S.

1.1.3 English as a global language

English has often been referred to as a "global language," the lingua franca of the modern era. While English is not an official language in many countries, it is currently the language most often taught as a second language around the world. It is also, by international treaty, the official language for aircraft/airport and maritime communication, as well as being one of the official languages of both the European Union and the United Nations, and of most international athletic organizations, including the Olympic Committee. Books, magazines, and newspapers written in English (such as Time and Newsweek) are available in many countries around the world. English is also the most commonly used language in the sciences.

Linguistically speaking, it's a whole new world. Non-native speakers of English now outnumber native speakers 3 to 1, according to language expert David Crystal: "There has never been a language that has been spoken by more people as a second than a first,"² he says. In Asia alone, the number of English users has topped 350 million – roughly the combined populations of the United States, Britain and Canada. There are more Chinese children studying English – about 100 million – than there are Britons.

The new English speakers aren't just passively absorbing the language - they are shaping it. New Englishes are mushrooming the globe over, ranging from "Englog," the "Tagalog," infused English spoken in the Philippines to "Japlish," the cryptic English poetry beloved of Japanese copywriters ("Your health of loveliness is our best wish," reads a candy wrapper. "Give us a chance to realize it,") to "Hinglish," the mix of Hindi and English that now crops up everywhere from fast-food ads to South Asian college campuses. "Hungry kya?" ("Are you hungry?") queried a recent Indian ad for Domino's pizza. In the post-apartheid South Africa, many blacks have adopted their own version of English, laced with indigenous words as a sign of freedom – in contrast to Afrikaans, the language of oppression. "We speak English with a Xhosa accent and a Xhosa attitude," veteran actor John Kani recently told the BBC.

The concept of International English has come into existence because English is so widely used now. International English is the concept of the English language as a global means of communication in numerous dialects, and the movement towards an international standard for the language. It is also referred to as Global English, World English, Common English, General English or Standard English. Sometimes these terms refer simply to the array of varieties of English spoken throughout the world; sometimes they refer to a desired standardization. However, consensus on the terminology and path to standardization has not been reached.

There is a distinction between English as spoken as a native language around the world (for example in Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States) and as a non-native language spoken as a regional or global lingua franca. A second distinction is made between those countries where non-native or semi-native English has official or historical importance (special significance, for example, in Pakistan and Uganda), and those where it does not (for example, in Japan and Peru.)

1.2 Indian English

Indian English is a catch all phrase for the dialects or varieties of English spoken widely in India (by about 11% of the population, according to the 1991 Census) and the Indian subcontinent in general. The dialect is also known as South-Asian English. Due to British colonialism that saw an English speaking presence in India for over two hundred years, a distinctly South Asian brand of English was born.

The term “Indian English” was used way back in 1891 by Schuchardt who did pioneering work on creoles. According to some scholars, Indian English is undoubtedly “the most popular vehicle for the transmission of the Indian ideas to the wider English-speaking world.” It gives an illuminating view of the variegated Indian socio-cultural matrix. Dorothy Spencer is of the view that Indian English fiction can prove to be a major source “for a systematic study of cultural contact and the cultural change, with Indian world view at the focus,” which will enhance our “knowledge of [the] acculturation process” going on in India.³

According to Kachru, Indian English is a cover term used for that variety of the English language, which is used by “educated Indians.”⁴ By Indian English we also mean “English in India.” The label “Indian” then is only like a differentiating tool by which this English is differentiated from other English such as Nigerian English or Caribbean English etc. Indian English has also been called a surface language which socially is a language of ‘pseudo elites’ and linguistically it is projected into an unfamiliar environment.

English, as Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said, is an Indian language.” In indigenizing English, we have made the language our own...We might occasionally split the infinitive; and we may drop or add an article here or drop one there. (But) English has been enriched by Indian creativity...”⁵

India is estimated to have over 18 million people using English as a necessary part of their daily working lives. This means that India vies with Canada as the country with the greatest number of English speakers after U.S.A. and U.K.

The people who speak English fall into three groups:

- (i) those who have inherited it as their native language;
- (ii) those who have acquired it as a second language within a society or state that is largely bilingual; and
- (iii) those who are driven by necessities to use it for some practical purpose - administrative, professional or educational .

Of the world's entire population, one person in seven belongs to one of these three groups.

English in India is not simply a linguistic phenomenon. It gains more dimensions when we examine its goals and implementation on the temporal plane. English in India has a "Colonial" past and a "Decolonized" second language present. The English language arrived in India with the East India Company and later, came to represent the British Empire. It symbolized the hegemony of the colonizer. The British rulers ('subject') used the English language ('instrument') to consolidate and expand their power-base in India ('object'.) The instrument was needed to establish, enhance and sustain their political, intellectual and cultural supremacy over the natives. English language was employed in the setting of education and administration. The process of English education, having once begun, brought in its wake the inevitable sequence – from the king to the court to administration to education and thence to literature and culture. The British employed the instrument methodically and purposefully and succeeded in

- (i) creating a well defined and easily recognizable class of English-knowing natives;
- (ii) distancing themselves from the masses of non-English knowing people and, most importantly;
- (iii) creating a division between the English-knowing natives and the non-English-knowing masses, thus creating, as it were two nations within one.

English no longer a foreign language in India, although that was the role it was meant to play when the British introduced it one and a half century ago. In contrast English today is a second language used to absorb and express one's own culture. In the words of Raja Rao (in his foreword to *Kanthapura*) "we shall have English language with us and amongst us, and not as guest or friend, but as one of our own, of our castes, our creed, our sect and of our tradition."⁶

The history of the spread of English in India is comparable to that of several other languages. It is a familiar phenomenon for one language to serve as lingua franca or language of special functions over a large area. Sanskrit, Persian, Braj, Khariboli are good examples to prove this fact. But the spread of English in this century has been far more extensive. This spread has helped in removing barriers in global communication to an extent that no other language has been able to do.

The prolonged contact between English and Indian languages has brought in its wake the inevitable effect of linguistic convergence. This linguistic convergence has manifested itself in different ways. One consequence of convergence has been the so-called Englishization of Indian languages. On the other hand, English itself, through its prolonged contact with Indian languages, as well as due to its use by Indians with varied linguistic backgrounds and varying levels of competence in English, has been 'Indianized' in as much as there have been phonological and morpho-syntactic adjustments in English, adjustments that can be attributed to the influence of Indian languages and culture. Thus, the present position of English in India is as follows: it is a non-Indian language which is recognized constitutionally as the Associate National Official Language and as inter-regional link language; educationally it is recognized as an essential component of formal education, and as the preferred medium of learning, with specialized education in science and technology available through the medium of English only; socially it is recognized and upheld as a mark of education, culture and prestige. The polity and society confers great value on the learning of English, gives it enormous paying

potential, thus creating a great demand for English-knowing Indian bi-multilinguals.

There is this reverse trend going on where Indians are facing pressure for a new identity, which combines various Indian identities with global trends, they are infusing ethnicity into the Queen's English. The use of English by a large number of Indians hailing from diverse linguistic backgrounds has also resulted in the emergence of regional varieties of English. As a matter of fact when one talks of varieties of Indian English, one has in mind two dimensions: on the vertical scale there is at the top, educated Indian English which is remarkably free of regional influences and is a close approximation of Standard British English. As we move down the vertical axis there are varying degrees of competence shown by Indian users of English, ranging from Standard Indian English to a rather pidginized version that may be called Bazaar English. On the horizontal axis we have regionally marked varieties of English with discernible and describable phonological and syntactic features. Thus, we have Bengali English, Punjabi English and Tamil English, etc. These variations along the vertical and horizontal axes are significant since they point to the fact that no mono-model description of Indian English is possible, except if one were to describe the speech of highly educated, cultivated users of English; but then their English would approximate so closely to Standard British English that it would hardly qualify to be designated "Indian English."

Variations in the pronunciation of several phonemes are affected by the regional tongues across the subcontinent, the greatest distinction being that between South India on one hand and the north of the subcontinent (including Pakistan, Bangladesh) on the other. Several idiomatic forms crossing over from Indian literary and vernacular languages also have made their way into the English of the masses. In spite of India's diversity, however, there is indeed a general homogeneity in syntax and vocabulary that can be found among speakers across South Asia. It will be found that excellent English bearing less regional grammatical peculiarities is spoken in upper-class families (commonly

referred to, in India, an ‘Westernized’), though even among them hints of a uniquely Indian flavor (particularly in a so-called ‘Indianised’ British accent) are typically retained.

The form of English that Indians (and other sub continentals) are taught in schools is essentially British English. The Indian government though, accepts both (British as well as American) forms of spellings as ‘correct’ English and makes no distinction. However, for most, it is desirable to emulate the brand of English that is linguistically known as Received Pronunciation or, more commonly, BBC English. In particular, Indian spellings follow British conventions to the point at which American English variations are considered untenable. However, even during the time of British imperialism, Indian English had established itself as an audibly distinct dialect with its own quirks and specific phrases. Following the departure of the British from India in 1947, Indian English took on a divergent evolution and many phrases that the British may consider antiquated are still popular in India. Official letters continue to include phrases like “please do the needful,” “you will be intimated shortly,” and “your obedient servant.” This difference in style, though, is not as marked a difference as between British and American English. Older Writers who made creative (and comical) use of now obsolete form of colloquial English, like P.G Wodehouse, are immensely popular too, as is cricket terminology like “googly” and “bouncer.”

The distinct evolution of regional variations in contemporary usage has led to terminologies such as Hinglish (Hindi + English) and Tanglish (Tamil + English). Hinglish, Tanglish, Benglish (Bengali + English) and other unnamed variations are particularly capitalised and made popular in the field of advertising. Here, the aim of reaching a large cross-section of society is fulfilled by such double-coding. There are thus many borrowed words from Indian languages that do find their way into popular writing, ads and newspapers, not to mention TV spots and shows.

1.2.1 Words unique to or originating in Indian English

Indians frequently inject words from Indian languages, such as Bengali, Kannada, Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil, and Urdu into English. While the currency of such words usually remains restricted to Indians and other Indian subcontinentals, there are many which have been regularly entered into the *Oxford English Dictionary* as their popularity extended into worldwide mainstream English. Some of the more common examples are "jungle," "bungalow," "bandana," "pyjamas"; others were introduced via the transmission of Indian culture, examples of which are "mantra," "karma," "avatar," "pundit" and "guru." The lead character in the pop sitcom "Dharma and Greg" has an Indian name "Dharma." Some of the examples of words unique to Indian English are given below:

- *arbit* (a slang term and short for arbitrary. Can be used to mean "vague," "random" or "bad." e.g., "What an arbit ending that movie had!" Used primarily by college students in Delhi and Mumbai. It is pronounced either as "arbitt" or "arbid," usual with equal stress on both syllables)
- *batchmate* or *batch-mate* (Not classmate, but of a schoolmate of the same grade)
- *cousin-brother* (male first cousin) and *cousin-sister* (female first cousin); used conversely is *one's own brother/sister* (of one's parent, as opposed to uncle or aunt; English brother/sister): most Indians live in extended families and many do not differentiate even nominally between cousins and direct siblings
- *crore* (ten million) and *lakh* (one hundred thousand)
- *Dicky/dickey* the boot of a car
- *eve teasing* (catcalling - harassment of women)
- *funda* short for fundamental. Used almost exclusively by college students in large cities, esp. Delhi and Mumbai
- *foot overbridge* (bridge meant for pedestrians)
- *French beard* to mean a moustache and goatee that wrap around the mouth
- *godown* (warehouse)

- *godman* somewhat pejorative word for a person who claims to be divine or who claims to have supernatural powers
- *gully* to mean a narrow lane or alley (from the Hindi word "gali" meaning the same)
- *Himalayan blunder* (grave mistake)
- *nose-screw* or *nose-ring* (woman's nose ornament)
- *opticals* (eyeglasses)
- *pass-out* to graduate from college
- to *prepone* (to advance, literally the opposite of 'postpone')
- *scheduled caste* (a socially/economically marginalised Hindu caste, given special privileges by the government)
- *scheduled tribe* (a socially/economically marginalised Indian tribe, given special privileges by the government)
- *time pass* or *timepass* to mean something that is good enough for killing time. For example, "The movie was not great, but timepass."
- *updation* (used in out-sourcing to mean to update something, as in "I've completed the updation".)
- *upgradation* (commonly used in business communication instead of 'upgrade')
- *upto* (a shortening of "up to")
- *would-be* (fiancé/fiancée)

With English the commonly spoken language in India, Indians are contributing their bit at enrichment. The latest Edition of *Oxford English dictionary (OED)*, considered the world's favorite word store, is a reflection. The new collection of linguistic twisters (for Western people, that is) include "bindas" (cool), "tamasha" (create a scene), "mehndi" (body color), "desi" (local) and "lehnga" (a form of dress.) "Lollywood," Lahore's incipient film industry finds mention. So does "kitty party," a social event for bored Indian housewives. In an interview, the editor of the *OED* Catherine Soanes rejected criticism that misuse of English words was being legitimized. "We are merely reflecting the language as it is today," she said. "Indian English is one of the growing areas

of language, which is contributing to the language as a whole.”⁷ “The beauty of English is that from the earliest times [India was a British colony] it has been able to incorporate and adapt words from other languages,” said editor in chief Jeremy Butterfield. “Already, we probably can’t get through the day without using several words derived from Indian languages. In the long run, we can expect Hinglish to influence English in many fields, in the same way that Latin and French have over several centuries.”⁸ Of this tendency to assimilate local flavor into language, the late Ivan Illich, anti-institutional philosopher, said in his series of articles entitled *Vernacular Values*: “Language would be totally inhuman if it were totally taught. Speech is much more than communication, and only machines can communicate without reference to vernacular roots.”⁹ The purity of English has been localized. Indian English is not just an easy way to communicate; it is also becoming an accepted form of English. People are no longer shackled by the rules of the language and are focusing on communicating effectively. The Raj hangover is a thing of the past. With globalization has come acceptance of the Indian identity; the mantra of the moment is to merge the English language with the vernacular.

According to David Crystal, “Language has gone from being printed to being broadcast to now becoming a means of e-communication. English, in particular, has undergone sea change. In fact, less than 2% of people in Britain still use the original Queen’s English and there’s absolutely nothing wrong with that. One must learn to recognize and respect the fact that as a language is adopted, it will also be adapted.”¹⁰

David Graddol predicts that by the next decade Indians will champion the expansion of the English language empire. According to Graddol, 150 million Indians of primary school age will change the demographics of the Anglophone world. He reasons that the trajectory of English teaching in India tends to move away from elitist forms of learning and will be a major factor in the spread of the language. It is often said that a language is a dialect with an army. He says that the English language is slowly being stripped off its class and caste

character. What we are witnessing is both the 'chutneyfication' and 'mandalisation' of the language. The polity as well as the market has forced the changes. In the days of the Empire, English was not just a language but also more a culture. The Republic has stripped the language to its bones; it is now just another tool for communication. The market, which today endears itself more to the language of image than the word, has also aided the process. The submersion has been subtle, but in true Indic tradition. English has been absorbed as another dialect spoken in the Great Indian Language bazaar. English is now used in India 'as an Indian language' and is employed as a mode of literary expression.¹¹ It has become an "essential language" in India because of its technical vocabulary and its role in international and inter-state communication.

1.2.2 Indian English Literature

Literature, by its presentation of an inner view, can give unique insights into other ways of thinking and bring into sharp focus the question of identity. The use of the English language in countries far removed from its "tribal homeland" tends to produce a creative tension between the means of expression and what is being expressed.

Yet another consequence of the spread and growth of English in India has been its enduring influence on Indian Literatures. This influence can again be said to have two dimensions. One of these is the influence of English literary practices on Indian writers during the last hundred and fifty years. The second dimension of this influence is the rise of a new breed of Indian creative writers who write in English. The creative efforts of these writers have given rise to a considerable body of writing that is generally referred to as "Indian Writing in English" or as "Indo-Anglian Literature." Indian English writers broke through the word barrier to write novels and poems in English about their own world. In the words of Raja Rao, they had to "express in a language that is not one's own, the spirit that is one's own," a dual vision that is at the heart of an Indian writing in English. However, in spite of banter regarding colloquial English,

India has a consistent and long record of pre- and post-Independence thinkers and writers whose writings and speeches are attestations to many Indian's mastery of the language. Among others, Nobel Prize winner Rabindranath Tagore, C. Rajagopalachari, Sri Aurobindo, Jawaharlal Nehru, Mohandas Ghandi, Swami Vivekananda, the world-famous novelist R K Narayan, Ruskin Bond, and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan come to mind as prominent figures whose English was of the highest quality in any country. More contemporary Indians, such as Vikram Seth and Salman Rushdie, are acknowledged masters of English literary style. Indian English writers and English writers of Indian origin – notably Booker Prize winners Salman Rushdie, Arundhati Roy and Kiran Desai, Pulitzer Prize Winner Jhumpa Lahiri and Nobel Prize winner V. S. Naipaul – have in addition made creative use of more stereotypical Indian English through the mouths of characters in their works.

India is the third largest English book-producing country after the United States and the U.K., and the largest number of books are published in English. Creative writing in English is considered as an integral part of the literary traditions in South Asia. Indeed according to the words of an Indian critic Iyengar three decades ago, quoted by Kachru, there seems to be an acceptance of Indian English literature as “one of the voices in which India speaks... it is a new voice, no doubt, but it is as much Indian as the others.”¹² Sanyal claims, too, that Indian writing represents a new form of Indian culture. It has become assimilated and is today a dynamic element of the culture.¹³

It can be said to be a challenge for the Indian novelist to write about experiences in a language, which has developed, in a very different cultural setting. The integrity of the writers writing in English is often suspected in their own country, and in other English-speaking countries they are treated as marginal to the mainstream of English literature.¹⁴ Indian writing in English dates back to the 1830's, to Kashiprasad Ghosh, who is considered the first Indian poet writing in English. Sohee Chunder Dutt was the first writer of fiction.

Stylistic influence from the local languages seems to be a particular feature of much Indian literature in English; the local language structure is reflected as example, the literal translation of local idioms.¹⁵ According to Kachru, however, South Asian novelists have not only nativized the language in terms of stylistic features: they have also acculturated English in terms of the South Asian context.¹⁶

1.2.3 British and American Influences on Indian English

The form of English that Indians (and other subcontinentals) are taught in schools is essentially British English, especially Scottish English, which influenced Indian dialects with rhoticity and trilled *r*. For most, it is desirable to emulate the brand of English that is linguistically known as Received Pronunciation or, more commonly, BBC English. However, even during the time of British imperialism (before the creation of a separate Pakistan and Bangladesh), Indian English had established itself as an audibly distinct dialect with its own quirks and specific phrases.

The Indian government accepts both British English and American English forms of spellings as 'correct' English and makes no distinction. Indian spellings typically follow British conventions, with American English variations considered less desirable.

Following the departure of the British from India in 1947, Indian English took on a divergent evolution and many phrases that the British may consider antiquated are still popular in India. Official letters continue to include phrases like "please do the needful" and "you will be intimated shortly." This difference in style, though, is not as marked a difference as between British and American English. Older British writers who made creative (and comical) use of now obsolete forms of colloquial English, like P.G. Wodehouse, and others who were *en vogue* fifty years ago, like Thomas Hardy, are still popular in India. It is ironic that although British writers Enid Blyton, P.G. Wodehouse and Agatha Christie are now considered to have held racist views in their time, their books

remain immensely popular in India. British writer, journalist and wit Malcolm Muggeridge once joked that the last Englishman would be an Indian.

American English, due to the burgeoning influence of American pop culture on the rest of the world, has begun challenging traditional British English as the premier brand of English spoken in the Indian subcontinent, though this is largely limited to the youth of Metropolitan cities in the last decade or two. But even after 20 years, this has not found its ways into other cities or towns, where English means British English. The proliferation of "MTV culture," especially through pop and hip hop, and the increasing desire of Indians to attend US, as opposed to British, collegiate institutions for higher education, is leading to the spread of more emulation of American English among Indian youth. Also, the economic and political puissance of the US often leads to heated debates as to whether or not British English or American English is the more practical accent for émigré Indians to adopt. It must be stressed, however, that British English retains its hold on the majority of Indians, particularly those of the older generation and the younger generation in non-metro cities and towns.

American English spellings are also widely prevalent in scientific and technical publications while British English spellings are used in other media. American spellings such as *fiber*, *meter*, *skillful*, and *program* are considered to be acceptable in the science streams. The *-ize* and the *-ise* verb forms are both popular.

Formal British English is preferred to layman's Indian English among educated Indian circles and higher Indian writing. Middle and upper-class Indians, especially those with greater exposure to the West through books, electronic media (such as television or movies) and travel, tend to speak more grammatically-standard English. British English is an official language of central and state governments in India. What is characterised as Indian English is not considered "correct usage" by either government-related institutions (such as offices and schools) or educated Indians who prize 'proper' English. Indian schools still teach grammar from (frequently older) British textbooks

like Wren & Martin or J. C. Nesfield (1898): the grammar of higher British English is considered the only correct one. Spoken and written English in India has not explicitly "forked" away from British English because the labelling of English as a "foreign language" is part of many people's political attitudes: its explicit indigenisation would devalue efforts to discontinue the widespread use of English in India.

Thus, we may say that India currently has a special place in the English language record books, as the country with the largest English-speaking population in the world. Ten years ago that record was held by the United States, but not any more. The population of India passed a billion, that's a thousand million, a couple of years ago, and is increasing at the rate of three per cent per annum. In 1997 an *India Today* survey suggested that about a third of the population had the ability to carry on a conversation in English. This was an amazing increase over the estimates of the 1980s, when only about four per cent or five per cent of the population were thought to use the language. And given the steady increase in English learning since 1997 in schools and among the upwardly mobile, we must be talking today about at least 350 million. That's equal to the combined English-speaking populations of Britain, the USA, Australia and New Zealand. All of these speakers bar a lakh or so, have learned English as a second language. English has special regional status in India, and is an important unifying linguistic medium between the Indo-European north and the Dravidian south. Special status means much more than having a place in the public institutions of the country, in parliament, the law courts, broadcasting, the press, and the education system. It means that the language permeates daily life.

One should not confuse Indian English with what is sometimes called "Hinglish," a phrase which can refer to a use of English containing occasional Hindi words or to a much more fundamental code-mixing of the two languages, unintelligible to a monolingual English speaker, and heard daily on FM radio. Indian English is a much broader notion than Hinglish, applicable to the whole

of India, including those regions where other languages are used. There we find Punglish (mixing with Punjabi), Tamlish (mixing with Tamil), and much more. India has a unique position in the English-speaking world. David Crystal sees India as a linguistic bridge between the major first-language dialects of the world, such as British and American English, and the major foreign-language varieties, such as those emerging in China and Japan.¹⁷ China is the closest competitor for the English-speaking record. Currently with some 220 million speakers of English, it plans to increase this total dramatically as the Olympics approaches. But China does not have the pervasive English linguistic environment encountered in India. Nor does it have the strength of linguistic tradition, which provides multiple continuities with the rest of the English-speaking world.

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the study

For some years now there have been considerable discussions about the decolonization process of Indian English. For some scholars and linguists decolonization is beyond debate. They claim that certain distinguishing features of decolonized English have been established by writers on language. Another group of scholars on the other hand point out that the English used in India is spread over a continuum. At the one end of the continuum are the speakers who are virtually indistinguishable from educated native speakers of English, and at the other end are the speakers of the highly deviant form of the English with millions of users of the language being somewhere in between. Since no comprehensive description of the communicative strategies of this so-called decolonization has ever been made. This group of scholars consider that the term decolonization is imprecise and misleading.

The present study does not wish to commit itself in taking up a position in this controversy. It claims that there are certain features of Indian English, which are deliberate in nature and have been designed with a specific communicative intention. Native speakers of English are often struck by these usages, which

differ, substantially from the established varieties of English (British and American Englishes.)

The study is by no means a comprehensive description of the process of decolonization in India. It only tries to capture some of the features which are used in deliberate manner by South Asian English writers like Salman Rushdie, Raja Rao, R.K. Narayan, Mulk Raj Anand, Arundhati Roy and others. All decolonized items have been recorded from the creative writings of well-established writers like Salman Rushdie, V. S Naipaul, Raja Rao, R. K. Narayan, Mulk Raj Anand, Arundhati Roy and some others. These expressions have influenced the English of the Indian learners of the language. Some items were more frequent than others in the writings of these writers. Related to the question of frequency is the range of use. In the present study no distinction has been made between the items of general usage and those, which are found only in restricted contexts. In this study, no distinction has been made between the items, which are found in the writings of almost all South Asian English writers, and those whose occurrence is limited to a particular writer.

The focus of this study is mainly on lexical coinages as manifested in the writings of South Asian English writers. The study looks at lexical coinages or lexical innovations under the following categories:

- (i) -ing ending coinages
- (ii) -ed ending coinages
- (iii) Loan Translations
- (iv) Clichés
- (v) Nativization
- (vi) Hybridization
- (vii) Semantic Manipulation and so on.

The aim of this study is to highlight the social and cultural features of the Indian way of life. As we all know the cultural features of Indian way of life reflect phenomenon, which do not have so much importance in English speaking areas. South Asian English writers have coined new expressions to

account for socio-cultural features of Indian way of life. To elaborate it further we can say that the usage of *cousin-sister* by Rau (*Remember the House*, 29) suggests that the word *cousin* is a sex-denoting marker. However, most Indian languages indicate sex in the word itself and *cousin-sister* is an attempt to do this in English. In British English, the item *cousin* has no marker of sex; in Indian English, however, *cousin* may be followed by a sex marker.

The study aims to highlight the Psycho-Communicative aspect of decolonization; because it believes that the patterns of decolonized English are shaped and dictated by the communicative need in a plurilingual context. Any communication is feasible only if the encoder and the decoder share in advance the communicative transaction of the message. Hence, in order to make a decoder share a unique sensibility, the encoder has to select words and structures and mould them in specific communicative purposes.

It is the aim of this study to exhibit how post-colonial South Asian English writers decolonize their verbal patterns.

The study also attempts to analyze code mixing and code-switching in the writings of South Asian English writers because code-mixing and code switching are considered as two distinct manifestations of language dependency and language manifestation.

The study also attempts to see decolonization as a step in the process of dismantling imperialist centricism. The research holds the view that decolonization is employed as a communicative strategy by the writers to create a language of their own and their own way of looking at things, thereby asserting their own identity. Hence, decolonized English registers a deliberate and calculated shift from the norms of conventional English.

1.4 Theoretical Background

The research presents a “peripherist” view of English language use in India. In this study, we define “peripherism” as the ideology or view of those groups that have historically been linguistically subalternized and disenfranchised but that

has now due to the market forces of globalization gained access to linguistic focus. During British colonialism English was a tool of linguistic hegemony and linguisticism but today English in India is an agent of decolonization that enables the urban middle class to access the global economy.

The notion of peripherism disagrees with linguists and sociolinguists who think that hegemony of English engenders local languages. It sees this as Orientalism disguised as liberal sociolinguistics that, in fact, reproduces the inequitable distribution of linguistic capital and fails to acknowledge the tenacity of indigenous cultures in being able to maintain their longevity

The peripherist ideologies see this as market driven language planning that is different in goals and outcome from the imposition of English by British colonists. British language planning in India was a tool of what Phillipson (1992) called linguisticism or linguist racism in the hands of Macaulay who in 1835 made English the official language of British Empire in India. However in the new world order, when India is growing, globalizing, and urbanizing English is no more the legacy of the colonial past, rather it is the language of decolonization. It has become the tool of empowering the unprivileged.

Theoretical perspectives regarding English in India is dominated by post-colonial theorists and literary critics such as Said, Vishwanathan, Appadurai, Bhabha, Rushdie, etc. Many South Asian linguists and sociolinguists have used these ideas to influence thinking on issues of language policy and pedagogy (Kachru, Khubchandani, Pattanayak, Annamalai and Dasgupta.) Kachru, for example, has given credence to an idea that there exists an “institutionalized” variety of English called “Indian English.”

The peripherist view is a distinctive view point and projects those groups who have historically been linguistically subalternized and have only now gained prominence due to market forces of globalization. *Subaltern* is a term popularized by Antonio Gramsci, which refers to depressed groups in society that suffer from the hegemony of the ruling class.

1.5 Review of Literature

Decolonization refers to the achievement of independence by the various Western colonies and protectorates in Asia and Africa following World War II. This conforms with an intellectual movement known as Post-Colonialism. A particularly active period of decolonization occurred between 1945 to 1960, beginning with the independence of Pakistan and India from Great Britain in 1947 and the First Indochina War.

Although many pioneering works have been carried out by scholars on various aspects of decolonization and decolonization of English language but no exhaustive study has been carried out on psycholinguistic aspect of decolonization of English language. Scholars have given their views and reflections regarding decolonization of English in India but it has not been studied as a whole till date. In this section we have discussed the works previously done on decolonization of English by different writers and how these writers have studied, analyzed and worked on numerous aspects of decolonization. We have also tried to bring together the views and ideas of different scholars regarding decolonization of English in India and nativization Indianization and of English. It is out of scope of the present work to examine each and every writer as well as the works done in all the spheres, so we have selected a few notable writers who have worked on a considerable portion of decolonization. Some others who have neither studied decolonization as a whole, nor produced any detailed and engaging study on an aspect of decolonization are included for their importance in forming an opinion on decolonization and world context.

In his work *Culture and Imperialism*, (1993) Edward W. Said has given his views regarding the process of decolonization. He explores the notion that there are two stages in the process of decolonization. The first takes place in the physical and geographical sense and the second, more complex and difficult, takes place in the cultural, social, and ideological realms. Said writes that the second stage is characterized by "an effort at the restoration of community and

repossession of culture that goes on long after the political establishment of independent nation-states."¹⁸ Such a cultural nationalism is concerned with imaginatively constructing, or reconstructing and reviving, a cohesive national identity that receives much of its force from its deliberate contrast with the previous imperial culture.

Decolonization: A Search for Alternatives (eds. Adesh Pal, Anupam Nagar and Tapas Chakraborty), (2001) attempts at defining the process of decolonization from cultural, philosophical and pedagogical points of view. It critiques, contests and offers various perspectives on the theory. It also attempts to map out the course of English studies in India and simultaneously offers some indigenous and pragmatic models of syllabi restructuring. It interprets the various texts and identifies the paradigms of resistance in them. The book also dwells upon the process of recovery and renovation of the traditional system and the significance of collective amelioration.

In his book, *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, (1986) Ngugi challenges the African writers to abandon writing in colonial languages as he calls literature written in these languages 'Afro-European Literature' and instead opt for their native languages to give African literature its own genealogy and grammar, in order to renounce lingering colonial ties and to build authentic African literature. He says that speaking and writing in the language of the colonizers will naturally be different than in the language one speaks while at play or with one's family. In addition, the language of the colonizer is often a truly foreign one and he calls for the total rejection of the colonizer's language. Ngugi is of the view that colonization is only a passing historical feature, which can be left behind entirely when 'full independence' of culture and political organization is achieved.

Viniti Vaish's article on "A Peripherist View of English as a Language of Decolonization in Post-Colonial India," (2005) presents a "peripherist" view of English language use in India. She defines "peripherism" as the ideology or view of those groups that have historically been linguistically subalternized or

disenfranchised but that have now, due to the market forces of globalization, gained access to linguistic capital. Rather than a tool of linguisticism, which it was during British colonialism, English in India today is an agent of decolonization that enables the urban poor to access the global economy. The peripherist ideology disagrees with sociolinguists who think that English endangers local languages and perpetuates inequality.

Essays on Indian Literature in English, (2002) by Ravi Nandan Sinha contains essays on established Indian writers in English as well as on new authors. Issues such as decolonization and challenges before the Indian critic in English have been discussed with reference to English studies in India.

Braj B. Kachru in his book *Indianization of English: the English language in India*, (1983) studies the nativization of English language in India. He traces the evolution of distinctive Indian variety of English and adopts a pragmatic approach to demonstrate a relationship between the lexical, syntactic and stylistic characteristics of Indian English and the functions of English in the Indian context.

Kachru's article on "English as an Asian Language," (1997) outlines the dimensions of Asia's English, which constitutes a world of its own in linguistic, cultural, interactional, ideological, and political terms. The questions this paper raises are: What conditions must a transplanted colonial language satisfy to be accepted as part of the colonized's linguistic repertoire? Why not consider Asian Englishes as part of a local pluralistic linguistic heritage? Answers to these questions demand redefining the concept of 'nativeness' and types of nativeness; this paper advances that proposal by describing the distinction between 'genetic nativeness' and 'functional nativeness.' It also discusses: Asian presence of English; domains of functions; the albatross of mythology; mythology and the Asian context; decolonizing context and text; canonicity, diversity and Asian English; English on Asian terms; and institutionalization of Asian Englishes.

In *The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions and Models of Non native Englishes*, (1986) Kachru has studied the process of nativization that English has undergone in South Asian region. He has also focused on areas such as bilingual's creativity and the contact literatures, literatures developed in countries which were once colonized by the British Empire.

Kachru in his article, "Indian English: A Study in Contextualization," (1966) suggests that Indianisms and deviant expressions owe their origin to the fact that the English language is operating in Indian contexts which are un-English. According to him, "Indian English has ramifications in Indian culture (which include languages) and is used in India towards maintaining appropriate Indian patterns of life, culture and education. This, in short, we may call the Indianness of Indian English, in the same way as we speak of the Englishness of British English."¹⁹

In his another article titled, "The Indianness in Indian English," (1965) Kachru is of the view that the distance between the natively used varieties of English and Indian English cannot be explained only or by comparative studies of phonology and grammar. The deviations are an outcome of the Indianization of English. The deviations in phonology and grammar are only a part of this process of Indianization.²⁰

R K Narayan favors the growth of "a Bharat brand of English" which "while following the rule of law and maintaining the dignity of grammar, will still have "a Swadeshi stamp about it unmistakably, like the Madras hand-loom check shirt or the Thirupathi doll."²¹ He also holds the view that the English language, through sheer resilience and mobility, is now undergoing a process of Indianization in the same manner as it adopted U.S citizenship over a century ago.

P.E. Dustoor in his *The World of Words*, (1968) claimed that "there will always be a more or less indigenous flavor about our English. In our imagery, in our choice of words, in the nuances of meaning we put into our words, we must be expected to be different from Englishmen and Americans alike."²² The

language thus re-created would honestly be expressive of our national temperament and will considerably enrich the English language.

V. K. Gokak in his book *English in India*, (1968) opines that the writers who are true to Indian thought and vision cannot escape the Indian flavor even when they write in English. Their style is, in a great measure, conditioned by the learned vocabulary of the subject on which they write. Even when they write fiction; they depend for their effect on picturesque Indian phrases and their equivalents in English.²³

Raja Rao in his foreword to *Kanthapura*, (1938) remarked that English is “the language of our intellectual make-up” and “we cannot write like the English. We should not.” He further adds, “Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will some day prove to be as distinctive and colorful as the Irish or the American.”²⁴ The tempo of Indian life must be infused into our English expression, even as the tempo of American or Irish life has gone into the making of theirs.

Mulk Raj Anand in *The King-Emperor's English* claimed that Indian writers aim at “consciously reorienting the language” and “synthesizing Indian and European values in contemporary India.”²⁵ In an article entitled “Why I Write?” (1977) he says that the King’s (or the Queen’s) English is inadequate for an Indian writer. The English language as used by the Britishers or Americans, he says, “seemed a completely unsuitable medium to interpret my mother’s village Punjabi wit, wisdom and folly” in which “there are inevitable echoes of the mother tongue.”²⁶ In an another article “Pigeon-Indian: Some Notes on Indian English Writing,” (1979) according to him, “the creative process behind most of the genuine Indian English writing...is a natural expression of a bilingual talent, nourished mostly on the mother tongue, and seeking communion, beyond communication, on certain levels which has not entered into English literature...”²⁷

In an article significantly entitled “The Empire Writers Back with a Vengeance,” (London Times, 3 July 1982) Rushdie wrote about what he called

decolonizing of the English language by writers like Chinua Achebe, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, Nadine Gordimer, R. K. Narayan, G. V. Desani and others. According to him, the language like much else in the newly independent societies needs to be decolonized, to be made in the other image, if those who use it from positions outside Anglo-Saxon cultures are to be more than artistic Uncle Toms. And it is this endeavor that gives the new literatures of Africa, the Caribbean and India much of their present vitality and excitement. English, Rushdie said ceased to be the sole possession of the English quite some time ago.²⁸ In *Imaginary Homelands*, (1991) he further remarked that "what seems to me to be happening is that those people who were once colonized by the language are now rapidly remaking it, domesticating it, becoming more and more relaxed about the way they use it-assisted by the English's language's enormous flexibility and size, they are carving out large territories for themselves within its frontiers."²⁹

Indianization of English, however, has not been approved by some writers like Nirad Chaudhuri. In his book, *The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian*, (1964) he holds the view that the linguistic culture of India is made up of "a combination of English, a denatured written vernacular and a mixed colloquial language."³⁰ Questioning the assumption that English can survive in India only by developing an Indian form, in an article "From Babu English to Indian English," (1958) he writes "If for no other reason, simply for the fact that laziness is the greatest force in the use and adoption of languages the principle of Anglicizing the Indian languages will push out the alternative principle of Indianizing English."³¹ He wants English to be English; examples of 'Baboo English' and 'Indian English' confirm his belief that the choice before the Indian writer in English is "to write much better English than he has done so far, or go to the wall." The "mutation of linguistic genes", he adds, will only result in the "denatured syntax and vocabulary."

1.6 Relevance of the Present work

A comprehensive review of the various studies, investigating the process of decolonization in Indian English writing shows that most of these researchers have focused more specifically on the process of decolonization from cultural, philosophical and pedagogical point of view. Others have examined the process of decolonization by providing physical and geographical analysis of the process. Various studies have shown “cultural nationalism,” which is concerned with imaginatively constructing or reconstructing a cohesive national identity that receives much of its force from its deliberate contrast with the previous imperial culture.

However, none of these studies seems to discover and examine the Psycho-Communicative aspect of decolonization. This apparent dearth of research on Psycho-Communicative aspect of decolonization necessitates an analytical study of Psycho-Communicative aspect of decolonization. In the present study we aim at investigating the patterns of decolonized English shaped and dictated by the communicative need in a plurilingual context.

This study, we hope will be seen as an expansion of existing base so as to provide greater universal credibility by analyzing the communicative relevance of the decolonization.

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CHAPTER 2

In the present chapter an attempt has been made to briefly define the Queen's English, Received Pronunciation, the two established varieties of English, i.e., British English and American English, their phonology, morphology and syntax. This is followed by a discussion on differences between these two varieties, differences in pronunciation, grammar, syntax and so on.

2.1 "Queen's" English

The notion of the "Queen's" English or "King's" English, depending on who is the ruler of the time, can be traced back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries where the idea of the monarch's usage of the language should be a model in speech and writing. During these times there was a development of a prestigious speech associated with the court and aristocracy. Wales also points out that the phrase "The King's English" was first used during the reign of James I.¹

The British Royal Family would generally be considered to be speakers of the Standard English, RP. However, Wales differentiates between the way the older "royals" speak and the changes that can be seen in the younger members of the royal family.

2.1.1 Features of "Queen's" English

- **General Pronunciation**

The Queen and older Royals might pronounce the following words as noted.

Examples:

house	=	hice
off	=	orf
tower	=	tar
refined	=	refained

Younger Royals might exhibit the following types of pronunciations:

really	=	rairly
milk	=	miuk

yes = yah
St. Paul's = St. Pauws'

The “Royal ONE”

Wales discusses the pronominal usage of “one” that is not only stereotypically associated with upper classes and especially the Royal Family, but that is also used frequently in their real life.² There are a number of ways that the word “one” is used in place of “I” and it has also been seen to be commonly used in those people connected with the Royal Family. The phrase “one” is used in place of “I.”

Example:

“One says to oneself: ‘Oh God, theres’ one’s daughter.’ (Father of the Duchess of York – quoted from The Star, July 1986)

2.1.2 Received Pronunciation

Received Pronunciation or RP is a form of pronunciation of the English language, usually defined as the “educated spoken English of southeastern England.” It is non-rhotic, meaning that written ‘r’ is pronounced only if it is followed by a vowel. It is English spoken without a regional accent. It is the spoken form of Standard English and many consider it to be best spoken English, although others disagree.

Earlier RP was sometimes referred to as “BBC English” (as it was traditionally used by the BBC) and as the “Queen’s English.” Both terms remain in use today, though less frequently than in past decades.

Many Britons abroad modify their accent to make their pronunciation closer to RP, in order to be better understood than if they are using their usual accent. They may also modify their vocabulary and grammar to be closer to “Standard English,” for the same reason.

Traditionally, RP is the accent of English which is considered a mark of an educated speaker, and which conveys no information about the speaker’s

region. For many years, the use of RP has been considered a mark of education by some within Britain. As a result, elitist notions have sprung up around it, and those who use it have often considered those who do not to be less educated than themselves.

However, from the 1970's onwards, attitudes towards RP have slowly been changing. Today, the accents of the English regions and of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland are more likely to be considered to be on a par with RP. BBC speakers no longer need to, and often do not, use RP. Stereotypes outside the UK nevertheless persist.

The ongoing spread of Estuary English (name given to the form(s) of English widely spoken in and around London and more generally in the southeast of England-along the river Thames and its estuary) from the London metropolitan area through the whole South-East leads some people to believe that this will take the place of RP as the "Standard English" of the future.

The closest equivalent in the United States is the General American Pronunciation.

Using Received Pronunciation in Speech

In general, the accent gives great importance to vowels sounds, which are extended and rounded. Some examples of the transformations of words when spoken with a RP are as follows:

- "Oh!" is pronounced as a diphthong, with a *w* sound to round off the word.
- Unlike most forms of English English and American English, RP is a broad A accent, so words like *bath* and *chance* appear with /ɑ:/ and not /æ/.
- RP is a non-rhotic accent, meaning /r/ does not occur unless followed immediately by a vowel.

- Like other accents of southern England, RP has undergone the wine-whine merger so the phoneme /ʍ/ is not present.
- RP uses [ɫ], called dark l, when /l/ occurs at the end of a syllable, as in *well*, and also for syllabic l, like in *little* or *apple*. (whereas it has been reported that "General American" speakers use the /ɫ/ both finally and initially.)
- The /t/ phoneme in words like *butter* is pronounced as [tʰ] rather than flapped (as in most forms of American English) or [ʔ] as in Cockney and similar varieties of English).
- The /t/ phoneme in words like *bluntness* is often pronounced as or realised as a glottal stop.
- Unlike many other varieties of English, there is no h-dropping in words like *head*.
- "Room" is often pronounced with a short vowel sound. In addition to manipulating the vowels, great attention is paid to articulating consonants clearly. Therefore, whilst some accents may "drop *hs*," transforming "hello" to "ello," or let a *t* slip to a *d* (as Australians do), RP makes sure to enunciate every consonant properly, except for the *r* consonant, which is only enunciated at the end of syllables when linking with vowel sounds. This is true regardless of whether the syllable linking is intrinsic or extrinsic to a word. (E.g.: the word "heresy" has a clear *r* consonant, but the word "hearsay" doesn't. Similarly, "here we are" doesn't have either the *r* pronounced, but "here it is" has its single *r* clearly pronounced. Further, "law and order" have an *r* linking "law" and "and," making the final product sound somewhat like "lah-ran-dorder" when spoken.)

2.2 British English

British English (BrE) or U.K. English is a collective term for the forms of English spoken in the British Isles. In particular, when used by other English speakers, it often refers to the written Standard English and the pronunciation known as Received Pronunciation (RP); the term is often used to make a distinction from American English. In such context, the written form is sometimes called International English, since few other English-speaking countries have adopted the changes in spelling introduced by nineteenth century U.S. Lexicographers.

British English is used to denote what is more precisely known as Commonwealth English. Commonwealth English refers to the language written in most of the English speaking world, including Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the United Kingdom. The language may vary slightly from country to country or even between those countries, regions, states, provinces and territories, but it is in all cases distinct from American English. Commonwealth English is mostly interchangeable with British English and where “Britons” is used, “inhabitants of the Commonwealth” might be more accurate. Commonwealth English is also used by countries and organizations, such as Ireland and the European Union, whose use of English is most influenced by U.K.

According to Tom McArthur: “... the phrase *British English* ... shares, however, all the ambiguities and tensions in the word *British*, and as a result can be used and interpreted in two ways, more broadly or more narrowly, within a range of blurring and ambiguity.”³

The broader use refers to the language of the entirety of the United Kingdom. Here, the term covers all varieties of the language – standard and non-standard, formal and informal, at all times, in all regions, at all social levels.

The narrower use refers to the form of Standard English used in Britain, or in England, or in South-East England: traditionally the medium of the upper and (especially professional) middle class, and by and large of education. The

term may be expanded into the more or less synonymous forms *British Standard English* and *Standard British English*. Although not limited to one accent (most notably in recent decades), it has been associated since at least the late 19th century with the accent that, since the 1920, has been called *Received Pronunciation (RP)*, and with the phrases *the Queen's English*, *the King's English*, *Oxford English*, and *BBC English*.

Peter Trudgill uses *British English* only for the wider sense of the phrase and introduced the term *English English* (EngEng) for the narrower sense. The term *English English* is now generally recognized in academic writing in competition with *Anglo-English* and *English in England*, though it is still not greatly used.

The written language is normally *Standard English*; which dates back to the early 16th century. It is primarily based on dialects from the south-east of England and is used by newspapers and official publications. *Standard written English* is basically the same in every English-speaking country, apart from a few minor points of spelling, such as colo(u)r, travel(l)er and apart from few minor differences in vocabulary and usage, e.g. American “elevator” is to the English a “lift”; “automobile hood” is a “bonnet”; “subway” is a “tube.”

There is an uneasy acceptance among speakers of British English that words of the sort *organize/organise* and their derivatives can be properly spelt with either *s* or *z*. The *-ize* forms were strongly promoted by the *Oxford English Dictionary* and are the forms used by most publications issued by the Oxford University Press and in much other academic publishing. This is sometimes known as *OED spelling* and may be marked by the registered IANA language tag *en-GB-oed*. It is the spelling used by the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, by the United Nations (mostly), and by the majority of international standard groups when they are not using American English. The *-ize* forms are also given priority in all dictionaries issued by Oxford, Cassell, Collins, Longman and Penguin, and also in dictionaries issued by Chambers for international use. These forms were used by the *London Times* until the mid-1980s.

The *-ise* forms are now generally used by the British government, by the European Union bureaucracy, by Cambridge University publications, and mostly taught in the British school system. They are far from prevalent in common usage. The *-ise* forms are preferred in dictionaries from Reader's Digest (UK) and by Chambers in their native speaker dictionaries and are used by most British publishers and in most British newspapers.

The British Isles are the most linguistically diverse area in the English-speaking world. Significant change in accent and dialect may occur within one region. Three major divisions are normally classified as Southern English dialects, Northern English dialects and Scottish English. There is also Hiberno-English (English as spoken in Ireland) and the form of English used in Wales.

The accent (not to be confused with dialect) known to many people outside the United Kingdom as British English is Received Pronunciation, which is defined as the educated, spoken English of south-eastern England. Earlier it was held as better than other accents and referred to as the King's (or Queen's) English, or even "BBC English." Originally this was the form of English used on radio or television. However, for several decades other accents have been accepted and are frequently heard, their use in broadcasting being now actively and forcefully encouraged by BBC management. But stereotypes about the BBC persist. English spoken with a mild Scottish accent has a reputation for being especially easy to understand.

2.2.1 Phonological Features of British English

Segmental Phonemes

Consonants (French: consonnes)

A consonant is a sound accompanied or unaccompanied by voice, in which there is either a complete or partial obstruction which prevents the air from issuing freely from the mouth. Such sounds which may be produced with or without vocal cord vibrations (voice), there may be either complete or partial

obstruction or audible friction which prevents the air from issuing freely from the mouth. These sounds fall generally into the traditional category of consonants.

When referring to consonants, it is conventional to specify:

- (i) the state of glottis, i.e., whether the sound is voiced or voiceless;
- (ii) the place/point of articulation; and
- (iii) the manner of articulation

On the basis of the place or point of articulation, the English consonants may be classified into following categories:

- 1. **Bilabial:** The lower lip articulates with the upper lip e.g. [p, b, m]
- 2. **Labio dental:** The lower lip articulates with the upper teeth. e.g. [f, v]
- 3. **Dental:** Tongue tip and rim articulate with the upper teeth e.g. [θ, ð]
- 4. **Alveolar:** The blade or tip and blade, of the tongue articulate with the alveolar ridge. e. g. [t, d, l, n, s, z]
- 5. **Palatal:** - The front of the tongue articulates with the hard palate.
e.g. [ç, ʝ, ʃ, ʒ]
- 6. **Velar:** The back of the tongue articulates with the soft palate or velum.
e.g. [k, g, ŋ]
- 7. **Glottal:** An obstruction or a narrowing causing friction but not vibration between the vocal cords. e.g. [h]

The manner of articulation tells us how the air stream is obstructed or expelled when a given sound is articulated. Here we have to discuss various manners on the basis of which the consonants can be classified:

I. Complete or Total Closure: There is complete obstruction or closure in the vocal tract. Air stream is stopped even for a fraction of second. There is no opening between the articulator and the point of articulation.

- 1. **Plosives/Stops:** A complete closure at some point in the vocal tract

behind the air pressure builds up and can be released explosively.

e.g. [p, b, t, d, k, g]

2. **Affricates:** A complete closure at some point in the mouth behind which the air pressure builds up; the separation of the organs is slow compared to that of a plosive so that friction is a characteristic sound element of the sound e.g. [tʃ, dʒ]

3. **Nasals:** A complete closure at some point in the mouth but the soft palate being lowered, the air escapes through the nose. e.g., [m, n, ŋ]

- II. **Intermittent Closure:** There is obstruction on closure after certain intervals.

Roll or Trill: A series of rapid intermittent closures or taps made by a flexible organ on a firmer surface. e.g. [r]

- III. **Partial Closure:** - Here the obstruction is partial, i.e. the passage is partly open, partly close.

Laterals: A partial closure is made at some point in the mouth, the air stream being allowed to escape on one or both sides of the contact e.g. [l]

- IV. **Narrowing:** Articulator and point of articulation are constricted in such a way that there is only a narrow aperture and air passes through it with audible friction.

Fricatives: Two organs are constricted at some point in the vocal tract, to such an extent, so as to leave only a narrow aperture shaped either like a *slit* or like a *groove*. So that air passes through them with friction.

e.g. [f, v, θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, h]

Slit fricatives [f, v, θ, ð]

Groove fricatives [s, z, ʃ, ʒ, h]

Lastly, the consonants in the production of which vocal cords vibrate and

produce voice are called *Voiced Consonants* and the consonants in the production of which vibrations do not take place are called *Voiceless Consonants*.

Voiced [b, d, g, ʒ, ð, z, ʒ, r, l, m]

Voiceless [p, t, k, ç, f, θ, s, ʃ, n, ŋ, h]

Semi Vowels (Glides): A semi vowel is a vowel glide functioning as a consonant. It is a speech sound, which can have certain features of both vowels and consonants. In English there exist two semi vowels; they are represented phonetically by the letters *w* and *y* (also represented as *j*.)

In English we automatically aspirate every voiceless consonant which begins a word. Compared /p/ in pit [p^hit] and /p/ in spit [spit]. In the production of first word, we hear a puff of breath following the p sound, this is not found in second word.

When we consider the consonant system as a whole, it is usual to present it in the form of a table, with the consonants arranged in relation to other consonants. Thus /b/ is paired with its voiceless counterpart /p/, and grouped both with the other voiced stops /d, g/, and other labial consonants /p, f, v, m/.

The English Consonant Phonemes

Point of Articulation	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dental		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Manner of Articulation	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd
Stops	p /pin/	b /bin/					t /tin/	d /din/			k /cool/	g /goal/		
Affricates									ʧ /church/	ʤ /judge/				
Fricatives														
Slits			f /fan/	v /van/	θ /think/	ð /then/								
Grooves							s /seal/	z /zoo/	ʃ /shoe/	ʒ /vision/			h /hot/	
Rolls								r /red/						
Laterals								l /life/						
Nasals		m /mass/					n /now/							
Semi Vowels		w /wine/								y /yes/	ŋ /sing/			

Vl = voiceless;

Vd= voiced

Table :1

Vowels (French- voyelles)

A vowel (in normal speech) is defined as a voiced sound in forming of which air issues in a continuous stream through the pharynx and mouth, there being no obstruction and no narrowing such as would audible friction. It may also be defined as a speech sound produced with vibration of the vocal cords but with no closure or stricture or close approximation in the vocal tract above the glottis.

Cardinal or Basic Vowels

It is necessary to have some standard vowels, which shall act as a kind scale or measure, with which to compare all other vowel sounds and which shall be constant. For this purpose Daniel Jones devised a scheme of *Cardinal Vowels*. These vowels do not belong to any one language; they have been chosen arbitrarily to represent certain well-defined tongue positions.

We set eight important, primary Cardinal vowels, which are denoted by numbers and symbols.

- C1 - high, front, unrounded vowel *i*
- C2 - low-high, front unrounded vowel *e*
- C3 - high-low, front unrounded vowel *ɛ*
- C4 - low, front, unrounded vowel *a*
- C5 - low, back, unrounded vowel *ɑ*
- C6 - high-low, back rounded vowel *ɔ*
- C7 - low-high, back rounded vowel *o*
- C8 - high, back, rounded vowel *u*.

Primary Cardinal Vowels

Cardinal Vowel No. 1 (**i**) is the sound in which the raising of the tongue is as far forward as possible and as high as possible consistently with its being a vowel, the lips being spread.

Cardinal Vowel No. 5 (ɑ) is a sound in which the back of the tongue is lowered as far as possible and retracted as far as possible consistently with the sound being a vowel, and in which the lips are not rounded.

Cardinal No. 2, 3, 4 (e, ε, a) are vowels of the 'front series' chosen so as to form an acoustic sequence between the vowel 1 and 5 such that the degrees of acoustic separation between each vowel and the next are equal or rather as nearly equal as it is possible for a person with a well trained ear to make them.

Cardinal Vowel No. 6, 7, 8 (ɔ, o, u) are vowels of the 'back' series chosen so as to continue this series of acoustically equidistant vowels.

A set of secondary Cardinal vowels can be obtained from the eight primary Cardinal vowels by reversing the lip positions. Such a secondary series is denoted by the following numbers and symbols.

- C9 - High, front rounded vowel y or j
- C10 - low high, front rounded vowel ϕ
- C11 - high-low front rounded vowel œ
- C12 - low, front rounded vowel Œ
- C13 - low, back, rounded vowel ɒ
- C14 - high-low, back, unrounded vowel ʌ
- C15 - low-high back, unrounded vowel ʏ
- C16 - high, back, unrounded vowel ɯ

In addition, a pair of cardinal vowels unrounded and rounded have been established for which the centre of the tongue has the highest point of raising. These are :

- C17 - high, central, unrounded vowel ɤ
- C18 - high, central, rounded vowel ɞ

This complete series of 18 Cardinal Vowels may be divided into two categories according to the position of the lips, with corresponding tongue positions.

1. Unrounded - [i, e, ɛ, a, ʌ, ʏ, ʊ, ɨ]
- 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 14, 15, 16, 17
2. Rounded - [y, ø, œ, ɶ, ɔ, u, ʊ]
- 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 6, 8, 18

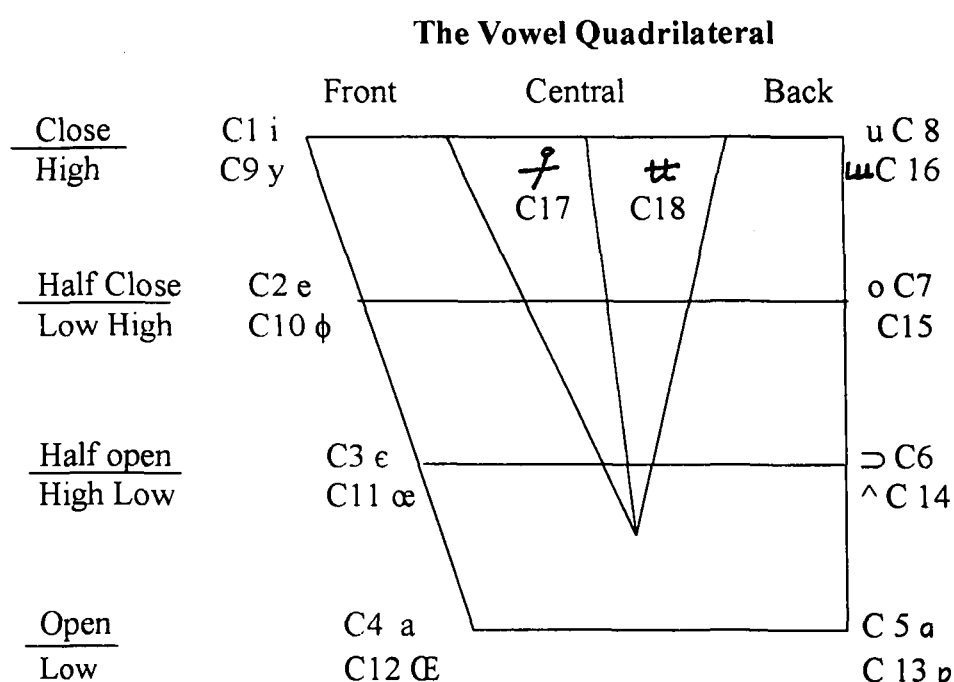


Figure: 2

There are 21 vowels in English. 12 are 'Pure' Vowels known as monophthongs and 9 are diphthongs.

The twelve pure vowels are:

[i, I, e, ɛ, a:, ɔ:, ɒ:, u, ʊ:, ʌ, ə:, ə]

English Vowel No. 1 (i)

It is a long vowel. It may be described in the following manner:

- i) height of tongue: nearly 'close';

- ii) part of tongue which is highest: center of 'front';
- iii) position of lips: spread or neutral;
- iv) opening between the jaws: narrow to medium.

Examples are: see /si:/, keen/ ki:n/, peak /pi:k/, team / ti:m/, feel /fi:l/.

English Vowel No 2 (i) or (I)

It is a short vowel and may be described in the following manner:

- i) height of tongue: nearly 'half-close';
- ii) part of tongue which is highest: the hinder part of 'front';
- iii) position of lips: spread or neutral;
- iv) opening between the jaws: narrow to medium.

Examples are: sit /sit/, fit /fit/, king /kiŋ/, symbol /'simbl/, become /bi'k^m/.

English Vowel No 3(e)

The following is a formal description of the manner of forming the sound:

- i) height of tongue: intermediate between half-close and half-open;
- ii) part of tongue raised: the 'front';
- iii) position of lips: spread or neutral;
- iv) opening between the jaws: medium.

Examples are: pen /pen/, red /red/, seven /'seven/, head /hed/, get /get/.

English Vowel No. 4 (æ)

The following is a formal description of the sound:

- i) height of tongue: between half open and open;
- ii) part of tongue which is highest: the 'front';
- iii) position of lips: spread or neutral;
- iv) opening between the jaws: medium to wide.

Examples are: glad /gl æ d/, bag /bæg/, pad /pæ d/, cat /k æt/, lamp /læmp/.

English Vowel No. 5 (a:)

The vowel may be described in the following manner:

- i) height of tongue: fully open;
- ii) part of tongue which is highest: a point Somewhat in advance of the centre of the 'back';
- iii) position of lips: neutral;
- iv) Opening between the jaws: medium to wide.

Examples are: far /fa:/, part /pa:t/, garden /ga:dn/, ask /a:sk/, half /ha:f/.

English Vowel No. 6 (ɔ)

It is a short vowel of and is described in the following manner:

- i) height of tongue: fully open;
- ii) part of tongue which is highest: the back;
- iii) position of lips: open lip-rounding;
- iv) opening between the jaws: medium to wide.

Examples are: not /nɔt/, hot /hɔt/, pond /pɔnd/, dog /dɔg/, sorry /'sɔri/.

English Vowel No. 7 (ɔ:)

It is a relatively long vowel and may be described in the following manner:

- i) height of tongue: between half and open;
- ii) part of tongue which is highest: the back;
- iii) position of lips: between open and close lip rounding;
- iv) opening between the jaws: medium to fairly wide.

Examples are: bought /bɔ:t/, talk /tɔ:k/, door /dɔ:/, caught /kɔ:t/, low /lɔ:/.

English Vowel No. 8 (u)

It is a short vowel and is described as following:

- i) height of tongue: just above half-close;
- ii) part of tongue which is highest: the fore part of the back;
- iii) position of lips: fairly close lip-rounding;
- iv) opening between the jaws: medium.

Examples are: put /put/, full /ful/, bush /bus/, hood /hud/, wood /wud/.

English Vowel No. 9 (u:)

It is a long vowel and the manner in which the sound can be described is:

- i) height of tongue: nearly close;
- ii) part of tongue which is highest: the back;
- iii) position of lips: close lip-rounding;
- iv) opening between the jaws: narrow to medium.

Examples are: rule /ru:l/, whom /hu:m/, lose /lu:z/, blue /blu:/, too /tu:/.

English Vowel No.10 (ʌ)

The following is a formal description of the manner of forming of the sound:

- i) height of tongue: half-open;
- ii) part of tongue which is highest: the fore part of the back;
- iii) position of lips: spread;
- iv) opening between the jaws: wide.

Examples are: cup /kʌp/, lump /lʌmp/, but /bʌt/, shut /sʌt/, flood /flʌd/.

English Vowel No.11 (ə:)

It is a long vowel and may be described in the following manner:

- i) height of tongue: about half-way between 'open' and 'close';
- ii) position of tongue which is highest: the central part, culminating at the junction between 'front' and 'back';
- iii) position of lips: spread;
- iv) opening between the jaws: narrow.

Examples are pearl /pɜ:l/, bird /bɜ:d/, turn /tɜ:n/, learn /lɜ:n/, work /wɜ:k/.

English Vowel No.12 (ə)

It is a short vowel. It is often called the neutral vowel or 'schwa'. Here the highest point of the tongue is in the centre. The position of the lips is unrounded (neutral).

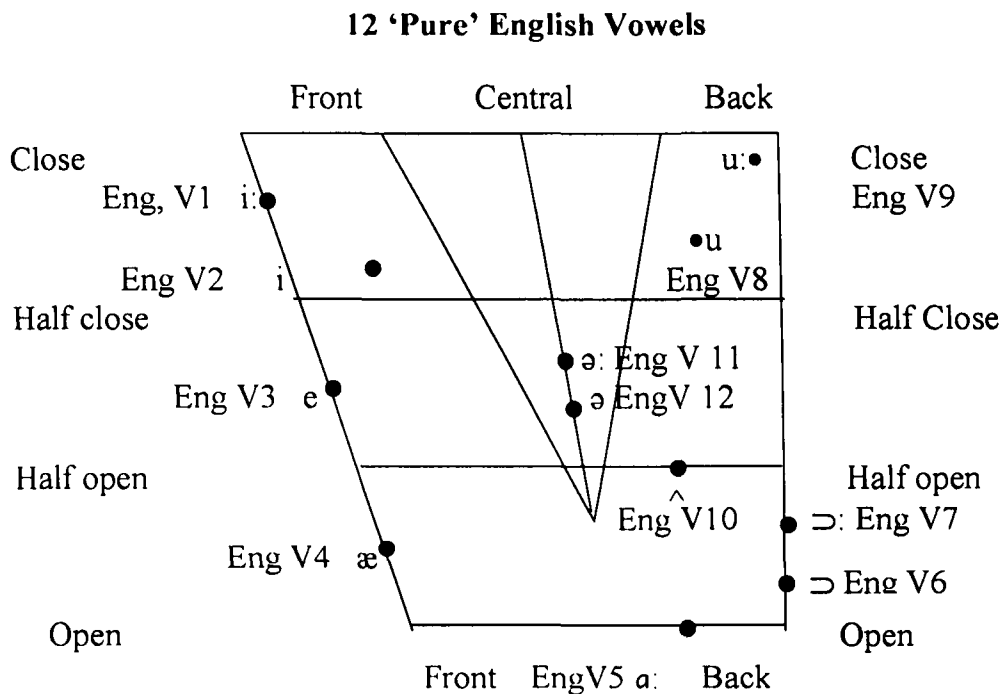


Figure: 3

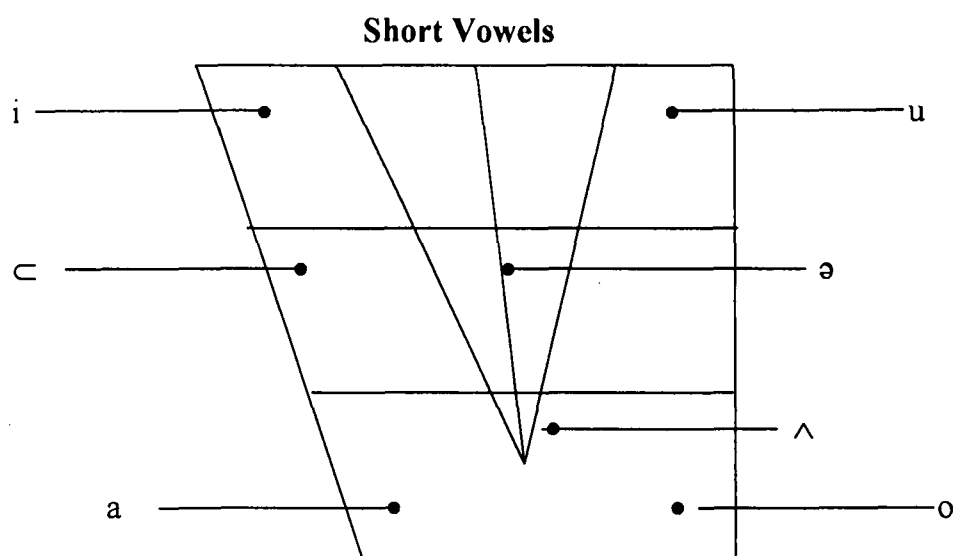


Figure: 4

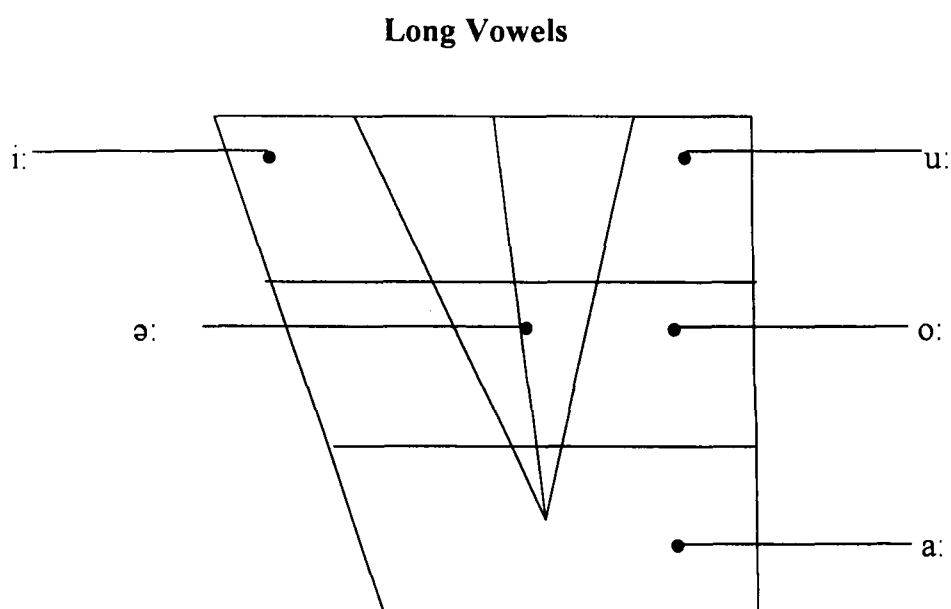


Figure: 5

Diphthongs: A vowel sound within a syllable (that part of occurrence which is uttered in a single chest pause) with a perceptible change in its quality, during its production is known as diphthong. The tongue moves constantly (from one

position to another) and hence the quality changes constantly in the production of this type of sound.

There are 9 English diphthongs:

[ei, ou, ai, au, ɔɪ, iə, eə, ɒə, uə]

In English, there are no rising or ascending diphthongs (where the most sonorous part occurs after an initial glide.) We have falling or descending diphthongs (the most sonorous part occurs first followed by a glide) and centring and closing diphthongs in English. A centring diphthong ends in a central neutral vowel [ə] and whereas a closing diphthong ends with a close vowel. We also have narrow and wide diphthongs in English. In narrow diphthongs the displacement of the tongue is very small e.g. [ou] in 'go' or [ei] in 'make' whereas in wide diphthongs the displacement of the tongue is large. E.g., [ai] in 'my' and [au] in 'cow.'

English Diphthong No. 13 (ei)

(ei) is the 'long' sound of the letter 'e' as in case of came /keɪm/, make /meɪk/. It is also the vowel sound of ai and 'ay'; examples: plain /pleɪn/, daisy /deɪzi/, day /deɪ/, play /pleɪ/ etc. It is a narrow and closing diphthong.

English Diphthong No. 14 (ou)

(ou) is the 'long' sound of the letter 'o' as in case of so /soʊ/, home /hoʊm/, noble /noʊbl/, roll /roʊl/. Ou is the regular sound of 'oa' when not followed by r; examples: road /roʊd/, toast /toʊst/. It is a wide and closing diphthong.

English Diphthong No. 15 (ai)

It is the 'long' sound of the letters 'i' and 'y'; examples: time /taɪm/, idle /aɪdl/, night /naɪt/, fly /flaɪ/. It is a narrow and closing diphthong.

English Diphthong No. 16 (au)

It is the usual sound of 'ou'; examples: loud /laud/, house /haus/, out /aut/. It is also a frequent sound of 'ow'; examples: cow /kau/, town /taun/. It is a wide and closing diphthong.

English Diphthong No. 17 (ɔi)

It is the regular sound of 'oi' and 'oy' examples; oil /ɔil/, noise /nɔiz/, boy /bɔi/, employs /implɔiz/. It is a wide and closing diphthong.

English Vowel No. 18 (iə)

It is a 'falling' diphthong and starts at about the position of the English short i and terminates at about ə. (iə) is the usual sound of 'eer'; examples: deer /di ə /.

English vowel No. 19 (ɛə)

It is a centring diphthong and starts half way between English vowel Nos. 3 and 4 (e and æ). ɛə is the regular sound of the group of letters air; examples: pair /pɛə/, fair /fɛə/, cairn /kɛən/. It is also the sound of 'ear' and 'are' in many words; examples: bear /bɛə/.

English Diphthong No. 20 (ɔə)

It is also a centring diphthong and starts very near to English vowel No.7 (ɔ). The diphthong ɔə may be heard in the pronunciation of words written with oar, ore and in some words written with our; examples: coarse /k ɔəs/, score /sk ɔə/, four /fɔə/, course /k ɔəs/.

English Diphthong No. 21 (uə)

It is a centring and falling diphthong which starts at u (English Vowel no.8). It is used in two categories of words:

- a) comprises of most words written with ure and oor and their derivatives; examples: care /kuə/, poor /puə/, moor /muə/.

- b) comprises of words spelt with ua, ue, or ewe followed by a consonant letter, the syllable being stressed. Such are truant /təʊənt/, fluency /fluənsi/, jewel /dʒuəl/.

Closing Diphthongs

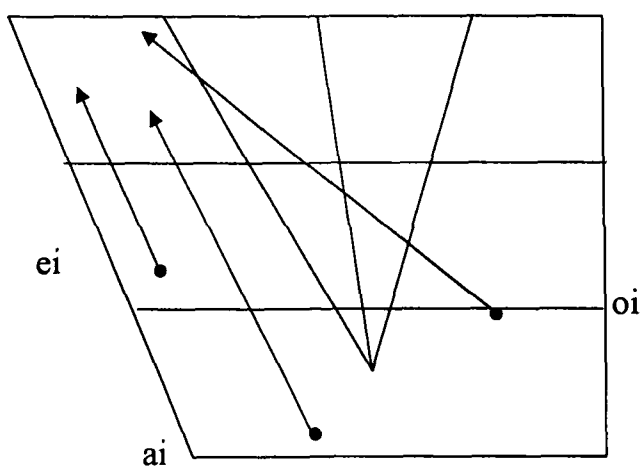


Figure: 6 (a)

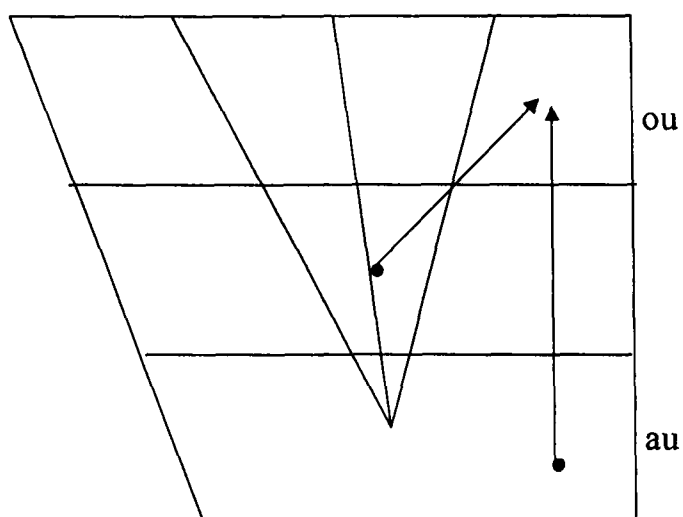


Figure: 6 (b)

Centring Diphthongs

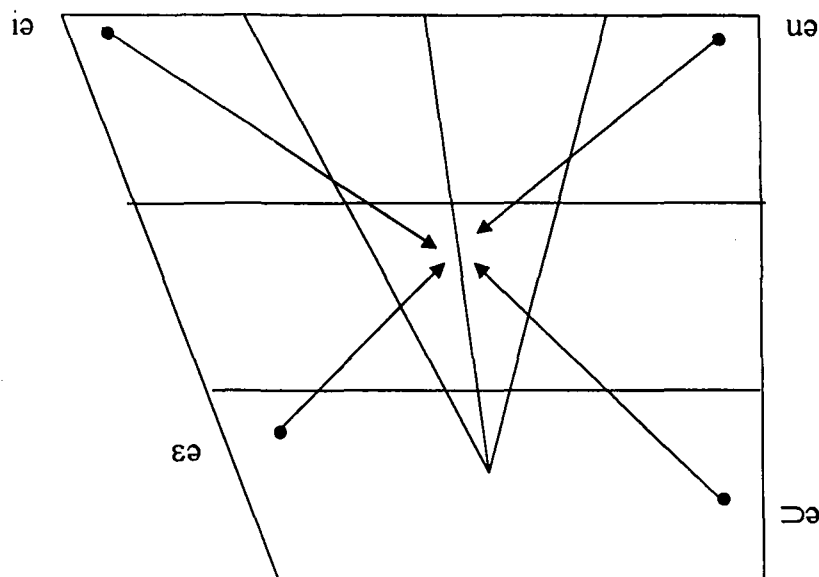


Figure: 7

Length of English Vowels

The length or quality of a sound is the length of time during which it is held on continuously in a given word or phrase.

The vowels Nos. 1, 5, 7, 9, 11 (i:, a:, ɔ:, u:, ə:) are longer than the other English vowels in similar situations, i.e. when surrounded by the same sounds and pronounced with the same degree of stress. Thus the vowels in heed /hi:d/, hard /hɑ:d/, board /bɔ:d/, food /fu:d/, heard /hə:d/ are longer than the vowels in hid /hid/, head /hed/, pad /pæd/, rod /rɒd/, bud /bʌd/, hood /hud/; similarly the vowels in heat /hi:t/, heart /hɑ:t/, short /sɔ:t/, shoot /su:t/, hurt /hɜ:t/, are longer than the vowels in hit /hit/, get /get/, hat /hræt/, hot /hɒt/, hut /hʌt/, put /put/. Thus, the vowels i:, a:, ɔ:, u:, ə: are designated as the long vowels and the remaining English vowels as the 'short' vowels. The diphthongs have about the same length as the 'long' vowels.

Length of Consonants

The length of consonants also varies, but not to the same extent as that of vowels. Final consonants are longer when preceded by one of the 'short' vowels than when preceded by one of the 'long' vowels or by a diphthong. Thus, the n in sin /sin/ is longer than the n's in seen, scene /si:n/ and sign /sain/. Liquids are longer when followed by voiced consonants than when followed by voiceless consonants. Thus, the n in wind /wind/ is longer than that in hint /hint/. Plosive consonants preceded by a short stressed vowel and followed by another consonant are rather long, e.g. the k in act /ækt/ actor /æktə/ (compare the k in jacket /ˌdʒækɪt/.)

Supra Segmental Features

The features that are super-imposed on the basic segmental sounds and seen like extra layer of a structure are called super segmental features. These consist of three features:

1. Stress
2. Pitch
3. Juncture

Stress: Stress is simply the relative breath force with which we utter different syllables in the speech. In other words, we may say that stress is simply the loudness or softness with which syllables are uttered.

In English, there are four distinct stress levels. The strongest or loudest is called primary stress and is marked by *acute accent* /'/. The next to strongest stress is called *secondary* and is marked by *circumflex* exempt /^/. The tertiary-stress, marked by the grave-accent /`/. Weakest or Softest is left unmarked, or may be indicated by crescent-stress /◡/. They are also referred to as *loud* or *main*, *reduced-loud*, *medial* and *weak* stresses respectively.

These stress levels are relative with each other and not absolute. For instance, if we take the primary stress we all do not have the same volume. I may generally

speak more loudly than others, so that my typical tertiary stress will be louder than their primary stress. Nevertheless, we would each have four contrasting stress levels in our respective sentence.

In English, there are many pairs of words in which one member is a noun and the other a verb; the noun in such pair has a loud stress on the first syllable and the verb with loud stress on the other syllable. For example, if I say, "What's your 'object?'" , I pronounce 'ob- more loudly than-ject. But if I say, "I obje'ct", the - je'ct is louder than the ob- . If one reverses these stresses in these sentences, the sentences would sound un-English. Some other pairs are-

S'ubject (N)	Subje'ct (V)
I'ncrease (N)	Incre'ase (V)
Pro'test (N)	Prote'st (V)
I'mport (N)	Impo'rt (V)
S'urvey (N)	Surve'y (V)
I'nsult (N)	Insu'lt (V)
O'verflow (N)	Overflo'w (V)

The position of the main stress is obviously an essential part of the total stress system and identifies the utterances.

Medial or Tertiary Stress /' / is common in words with three or more syllables. For instance:

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. ce'entraliza'tion | 2. `administra'tion |
| 3. se'para'tion | 4. a'mina'tion |
| 5. m'odifica'tion | 6. au'dito'rium |

The medial stress is phonemically different from weak stress. It is a little bit louder than weak stress.

In English most compound words with internal open juncture (:-) like bl'ack-bi'r'd, co'al-bi'n, the first member has a loud stress, the second member has a

subordinate stress which is louder than the medial stress. The word au'dito'rium has medial stress on first syllable, loud on third and weak stress on all others. According to well known habit of English morphology, a loud stress becomes less loud when the word in which it occurs becomes the second member of the compound word; therefore in a compound word like m'ovie-audio'torium, the loud stress on the third syllable of auditorium is reduced in loudness. Thus, stress on –to- in a compound word m'ovie-audio'torium is phonemically different from ordinary loud stress and medial stress. We call it reduced loud stress and mark it with a circumflex accent. /˘/. For example: bl'ack-bi˘rd, e'leva˘tor, o˘pera˘tor.

The reduced loud on secondary stress is phonemically different from loud or primary stress or medial or tertiary stress.

It is quite clear that the main function of stress in English is not of differentiating words. The main function of stress is instrumental in the maintenance of rhythm in connected speech. English is said to be a *stress-timed* language: stress occurs at (roughly) equal timing intervals – unlike French, for example, where the syllable is the most important timing unit of connected speech. Consider an utterance such as 'This is the 'house that 'Jack 'built: the stresses occur rhythmically so that it is possible to tap rhythmic beats coinciding with stressed syllables. This isochrony (equality in time) holds regardless of the fact that, in our example, the number of unstressed syllables between stresses varies from none (as in 'Jack 'built) to two ('This is the 'house). Stress isochrony is maintained by variations in the delivery rate of individual syllables.

Pitch: Pitch is defined as the frequency of vibration of voiced sounds coming from the glottis. All the vowels and more than half the consonants in English are voiced. If the vocal cords vibrate fast – say 800 times a second, we get what we call high-pitch. If they vibrate slowly say 200 times a second – we get low pitch.

Pitch variations can affect the meaning of a sentence as a whole. The pitch pattern used in a sentence is known as the *intonation*. English use pitch variations at

These 4 pitch-levels are relative, not absolute. They can't be defined as so many variations per second. They are simply points of contrast set up on the speech of individuals as they speak particular sentences. In general children have high pitch than adults and women have higher pitch level than men. Thus, a child's low pitch may be higher than an adult's high pitch but the child will have 4 pitch levels in his speech and the adult will have them in his. Scientifically, pitch is usually written with the numbers only. Thus;

Where are you going?

For general purpose, however, it is easier to show pitch with lines rather than numbers.

				4
				<hr/>
			3	where
			<hr/>	
	<u>where</u>		where	
<u>where</u>	2			
1				

2 3 1

The above example shows a very common pitch pattern for ordinary statements for WH questions. It is 2-3-1 pattern. We begin on the 2-pitch, rise to the 3-pitch at the successive syllable and falls to the 1 at the end. We can put a bit of panic into the question by rising to the highest pitch (4th pitch.)

2 4 1
Where are you going?

If we want to insist on where, we get the III level at the beginning.

3 1 1
Where are you going?

Most statements in English end in or fall to the lowest pitch.

2 3 1
He is my brother.

2 3 1
I am very fond of bananas.

However, there are another type of questions which do not usually end within a falling pitch. They are Yes/No questions or polar questions. Examples are:

2 3
Did you tell him?

2 3
Are you fond of bananas?

5. 3
Is he going somewhere?

These sentences can also be uttered with 2-3-1 pattern.

2 3 3
Did you kill him?

2 3 1

Did you kill him?

In the first sentence, I am making a polite enquiry. In the second sentence, I am attempting to brush aside your aversion and get your all the essential fact.

When pitch level drops from 1- 4, it increases the intensity of the contrast, as, in,

3 1 - 4

His name was Bill (not, as you claim, John.)

A drop from 3-4 reduces the intensity of the contrast, giving an effect of aloofness or detachment, as in,

Mr. Hill, Mr. Scott

4 3-4 4 3-4

It also lowers the pre-contour.

Juncture: Juncture is a way of breaking or stopping the speech flow. In English, there are four junctures: the first one, however, is quite different from the other three. Junctures are also generally named after the symbols made to indicate them. Thus, we have:

1. Plus Juncture /+ / or Open juncture.
2. Single-bar juncture / | / or Sustained juncture (→).
3. Double-bar juncture / || / or Rising juncture (↑).
4. Double-cross bar juncture /#/ or Falling or Terminal juncture (↘).

Plus juncture is a special kind of break between phonemes. It is the difference between “I scream” and “ice-cream”. In “I scream,” we have plus juncture before /s/ phoneme: /ay+skriym/. In “Ice-cream”, the plus juncture comes after /s/ phoneme: /ays+kriym/.

When the features of open juncture are present internally in compound words it is called as Internal Open Juncture. Example: Tin-tax, Night-rate, Dye-trade. When there is no break from one segmental phoneme to the next within the utterance, we call it close juncture. Example: black, syntax, another, nitrate. The other junctures come at the end of group of words. These junctures are closely tied up with stress and pitch.

If a sentence has only one primary (loudest) stress, then we don't have any juncture inside the sentence. But if we have two primary stresses then we will have a single-bar or double bar juncture between them. Example:

“The man digging in the garden is Mr. J'ones.”

This sentence has only one primary stress, thus there is no juncture inside the sentence.

If there are two primary stresses in the above sentence then there will be a single bar juncture after the primary stress.

The man digging in the ga'rden is Mr. J'ones.

The man digging in the ga'rden / is Mr. J'ones.

If there are three primary stresses, there will be two single-bar junctures:

The ma'n digging in the ga'rden is Mr. J'ones.

The ma'n / digging in the ga'rden / is Mr. J'ones.

This will be a very slow and emphatic way of saying the sentence.

The difference between single-bar, double-bar and double cross-bar juncture is a matter of what happens in the pitch. If the pitch remains same, we have single-bar; if it goes up a little (but not to the next pitch level) we have double bar; if it goes down a little; we have double cross.

2 1

The man digging in the garden is Mr. J'ones.

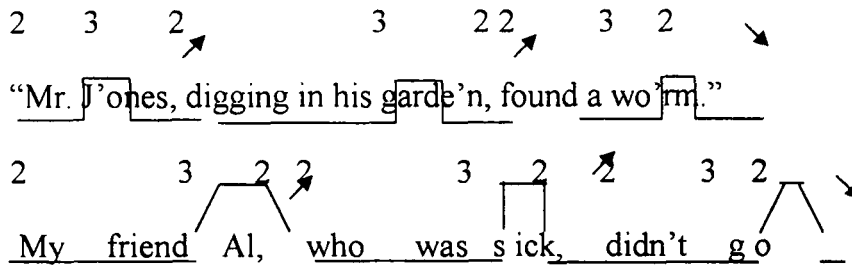
The man digging in the garden is Mr. Jones.

2 3 → 2 3 2 → 2 3 1

The ma²n/digging is the ga³rden/s Mr. J¹ones.

Double-bar juncture is usually indicated by punctuations. It corresponds more or less to a coma in writing. Here, the pitch instead of continuing level across the break, rises upwards but not to the next higher pitch. Example: The sentence, “Mr. Jo’nes, digging in his gard’en, found a wo’rm,” would be pronounced quite differently. There would be three primary stresses with double-bar junctures separating them.

The pitch would rise slightly after 'Jones' and after 'garden.' The pitch would be something like this:



The contrast in junctures reflects a contrast in the structure of sentence. In the first sentence, ‘digging in the garden’ is part of the noun cluster, ‘the man,’ or it modifies the head word ‘the man.’ But in the second sentence digging in his garden is not part of the noun cluster, but here a sentence modifier, another idea is being added in addition to the main idea of the sentence.

Double-cross juncture is a falling of pitch into silence. Here, there is a slight drop in pitch, which is shown in the above example at the very end, after ‘worm.’ This is a double-cross juncture in its usual place at the end of a sentence: Mr. Jo’nes, || digging in his gard’en, || found a w’orm #. By and large, double-cross junctures in speech corresponds to semi-colons and periods in writing.

2.2.2 Morphological Features of British English

Morphology comes from Greek *morph* meaning ‘shape’ and *logos* meaning ‘study’ i.e. the study of words. Morphology is basically concerned with the way in which word formation takes place in any language. It deals with the internal structure of words. It includes the construction of words and parts of words. Morphology has also been defined as the “study of morphemes (shortest meaningful units) and their arrangement is forming words.”

Free and Bound Morphemes in English

According to some scholars free morpheme does not require the presence of another morpheme to occur. A free morpheme has also been defined as one which can be used as independent word and has a distinct meaning of its own when used alone.

Free Morphemes are further of two kinds in English:

1. Lexical Morphemes
2. Functional Morphemes

The words which carry the content of messages are called lexical morphemes. It consists of nouns, adjectives, verbs.

The functional morpheme consists largely of the functional words such as conjunctions, prepositions, articles and pronouns.

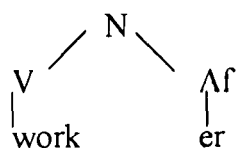
A Bound Morpheme is one that can occur only with another morpheme. There are two kinds of Bound morphemes in English.

1. **Derivational Morphemes:** In English they are used to make new words and are often used to make words of a different grammatical category from the stem. It includes suffixes (-ish, -ly, -ment) and prefixes (re-, pre-, ex-, dis-, un-.)
2. **Inflectional Morphemes:** They are not used to produce new words in English language but rather to indicate aspects of the grammatical function of a word. They are used to show if a word is singular/plural, past or not, comparative or possessive. All inflectional morphemes in English are suffixes.

Morphological Process in English

Traditionally, morphological processes are divided into two types: Inflection and Derivation. Derivation produces new words (in the sense of lexemes) while inflection produces forms of the same word.

Derivation: Derivation creates a new word by changing the category and/or the meaning of the base to which it applies. The derivational affix – er, for instance, combines with a verb to create a noun with the meaning ‘one who does X,’ as shown below:



Verb	Derived Noun
[help] _V	[[help] _V ^{er}] _N
[walk] _V	[[walk] _V ^{er}] _N
[teach] _V	[[teach] _V ^{er}] _N
[drive] _V	[[drive] _V ^{er}] _N

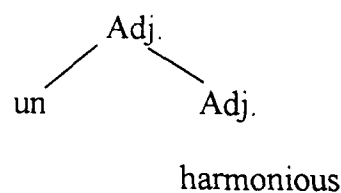
Table 2: Some English Derivational Affixes

Affixes	Change	Semantic effect	Examples
Suffixes			
-able	V→Adj.	able to be X'ed	fixable
-ation	V→N	the result of X'ing	realization
-er	V→N	one who X's	worker
-ing	V→N	the act of X'ing	the shooting
	V→Adj.	in the process of X'ing	the sleeping giant
-ion	V→N	the result a act of X'ing	protection
-ive	V→Adj.	having the property of doing X	assertive
-ment	V→N	the act of result of X'ing	adjournment
-al	N→Adj.	pertaining to X	national
-ial	N→Adj.	pertaining to X	presidential
-ian	N→Adj.	pertaining to X	Canadian
-ic	N→Adj.	having the property of X	organic
-ize	N→V	put in X	hospitalize
-ous	N→Adj.	the property of having or being X	poisonous
-ate	Adj. →V	make X	activate

-ity	Adj. →N	the result of being X	stupidity, priority
-ize	Adj. →V	make X	modernize
-ly	Adj. →Adv.	in an X manner	quietly
-ness	Adj. →N	the state of being X	happiness, sadness
Prefixes			
ex-	N→N	former X	ex-president
in-	Adj. →Adj.	not X	incompetent
un-	Adj. →Adj.	not X	unhappy
	V→V	reverse X	untie
re-	V→V	X again	rethink

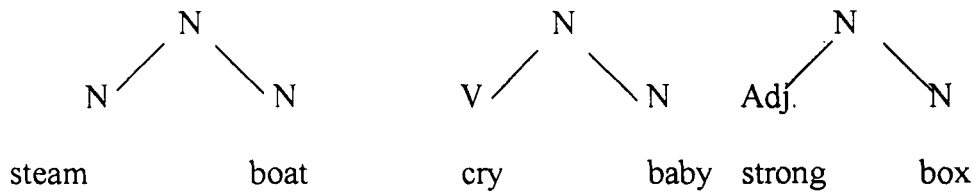
English marks very widespread use of derivation. Table:2 lists some examples of English derivational affixes, along with information about the type of base with which they combine and the type of category that results. The first entry states that the affix -able applies to a verb base and converts it into an adjective with the meaning 'able to be X'ed.' Thus, if we add the affix -able to the verb fix, we get an adjective with the meaning 'able to be fixed.'

Derivational Rules: Each line in the Table:2 can be thought of as a word formation rule that predicts how words may be formed in English. Thus, if there is a rule whereby the prefix un- may be added to an adjective X, resulting in another adjective, unX, with the meaning 'not X,' then we predict that an adjective like harmonious may be combined with this prefix to form the adjective unharmonious, which will mean 'not harmonious.' The rule provides a structure to the word given below:



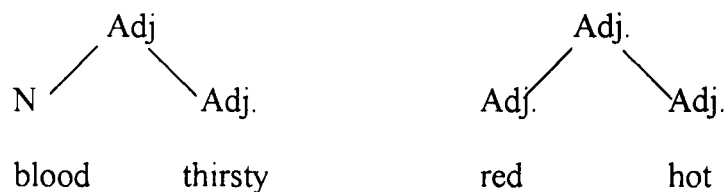
Compounding: The other way to form a new word is by combining two already existing words in a compound. Blackbird, dog house, seaworthy and blue green are examples of compounds.

Compounding is highly productive in English. In English, compounds can be found in all the major lexical categories – nouns (door step), adjectives (strong box) and verbs (stage manage) – but nouns are by far the most common type of compounds. Verb compounds are quite infrequent. Among noun compounds, most are of the form noun + noun (NN), but Adj.N compounds are also found quite frequently; VN compounds are rare.



Types of Noun Compounds

Compound Adjectives are of the type Adj.Adj. or NAdj.



Types of Adjective Compounds

Compounds versus Non Compounds

Compound word		Non Compound expressions
green house	an indoor garden	green house – a house painted green
blackboard	a chalkboard used in class room	black board – a board that is black
wet suit	a diver's costume	wet suit – a suit that is wet

Inflection: Inflection modifies a word's form in order to mark the grammatical subclass to which it belongs. In case of English nouns, for instance, inflection marks the plural subclass by adding the affix -s. (Table:3) In the case of verbs, inflection marks a distinction between past and non past subclasses – usually by adding the suffix -ed to indicate the past tense. (Table:4)

Table 3: Plural Inflection

Singular	Plural
apple	[[apple]s]
car	[[car]s]
dog	[[dog]s]

Table 4: Tense Inflection

Present	Past
work	[[work]ed]
jump	[[jump]ed]
hunt	[[hunt]ed]

Because inflection applies after all word formation rules, the plural affix can be added to the output of derivation and compounding as well as to a simple noun. (Table:5) Similarly, tense affixes can be attached to the output of derivation and compounding as well as to simple verb.

Table 5: Inflection of derived or Compound Nouns

Derived	Compound
[[worker]s]	[[football]s]
[[creation]s]	[[outlaw]s]
[[kingdom]s]	[[blackboard]s]

Properties of Inflection

1. Inflection does not change the grammatical category of the word to which it applies. Inflection simply marks subclasses of already existing words; it does not create new words.

(a) [[book]_Ns]_N (b) [[work]_Ved]_V

2. Inflection takes place after all word formation processes, including derivation.

neighbour hood s * neighbour s hood
 root DA IA root IA DA

3. Many English verbs have irregular or idiosyncratic past tense forms (saw, left, went and so on.) Nonetheless, the distribution of the inflectional affix -ed is still considerably freer. While all the verbs in Table:7 can take the regular past-tense ending, only those in the first three rows are able to take the -ment suffix.

Table 6: Compatibility with -ment

Verb →	Past	Verb →	Noun
confine	confined	confine	confinement
align	aligned	align	alignment
tract	treated	treat	treatment
arrest	arrested	arrest	*arrestment
straighten	straightened	straighten	*straightment
cure	cured	cure	*curement

Nominal Inflection

In English the simplest number contrast consists of a two-way distinction between the singular (one) and the plural (more than one.) This is the contrast found in the English inflectional system, where a noun takes the suffix -'s if it refers to two or more entities. In English there is two way gender classification - masculine and feminine.

English nouns do not use case contrasts to distinguish between subjects and direct objects, although the genitive suffix -'s is used to mark the possessor role. However, pronouns exhibit a more elaborate set of contrasts.

Nominative : They laughed. They read the billboard.

Accusative : She saw them.

Genitive : She took their car

Since the same form of the pronoun is used for the subject of a transitive verb as for the subject of an intransitive verb, we can say that these contrasts follow the nominative – accusative pattern.

Verbal Inflection: English has a much more impoverished system of person and number agreement in the verb and an inflectional affix is used only for the third person singular in the present tense. (Table:8) Except for commands, English does not tolerate sentences without overly expressed subjects.

Table 7: English Verbal Paradigm

	Singular	Plural
First Person	I speak	we speak
Second Person	you speak	you speak
Third person	he, she, or it speaks	they speak

Tense: The English tense system is built around these three contrasts.

They played hockey (past.)

They play hockey (present.)

They will play hockey (future.)

In terms of inflectional morphology, however, English has only a two-way contrast between past (marked by the inflectional suffix –ed in regular verbs) and the non past (unmarked.)

In addition to these two basic morphological processes, other morphological processes in English are as follows:

1. **Affixation:** It is the process which involves addition of prefixes, suffixes and infixes to the base. Examples are:

Prefixes : re-tain, re-open

un-common, un-healthy, un-hygienic

Suffixes	-s (sings, boys);
	-er (singer, player);
	-ing (singing, playing);
	-est (smallest)

There are no Infixes in English language.

2. **Internal change:** It is a means of marking different functions of words by varying mostly the vowel sounds of its stem. Examples are:

singing ~ sang ~ sung;

man ~ men;

goose ~ geese

Noun /haws/ 'house' and verb /hawz/ show consonant change. Other examples showing consonantal changes are belief (N) and believe (V), advice (N) and advise (V.)

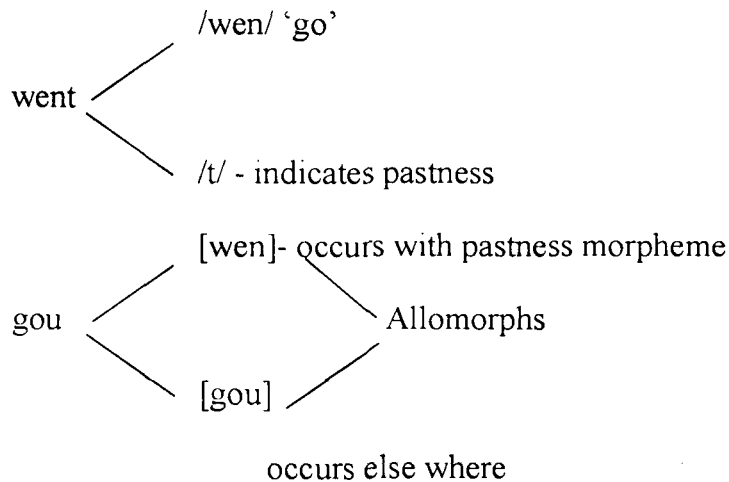
3. **Zero Modification:** When there is significant absence of formal feature at some point or points in a series and a single form expresses more than one meaning. Examples are: 'sheep' can be both singular and plural.

Singular		Plural
sheep	-	sheep + ϕ
/ʃi:p/	-	/ʃi:p/ + ϕ

4. **Suppletion:** Here there is complete replacement of one form by another form.

The past tense of 'go' is 'went.' Total replacement or suppletion of form takes place here.

For example: 'go' ~ 'went.'



Other examples are comparative degree of good – better and bad – worse.

5. **Replacement:** The process of internal change in which the internal structure of words is being changed especially vowels. Examples are:

foot	/fʊt/	-	feet	/fi:t/
food	/fu:d/	-	feed	/fi:d/

Here /i:/ is replacing /u/ and is indicating plurality.

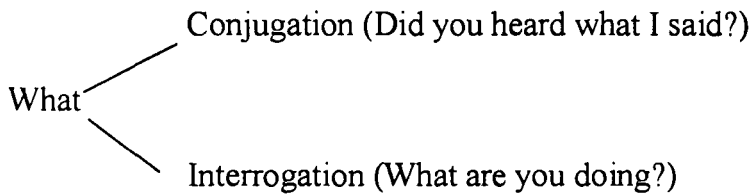
6. **Empty Morpheme:** It is a special kind of morpheme where the morph does not bear any meaning, i.e. the form without meaning.

Examples are: 'r' in 'children'

Singular	Plural
child	children

Here child has meaning (singular); -en is a plural marker but 'r' is without any meaning. Hence 'r' in 'children' is an empty morpheme.

7. **Port-montau:** A single morpheme which simultaneously stands for two morphemes or represents a bundle of several different grammatical elements. Example:



8. **Discontinuous Morpheme:** The separation of otherwise continuous elements by insertion of other elements. Example: *You are not to tell anyone* becomes *you are not under any circumstances to tell anyone*, with the insertion of the phrase *under any circumstances*. When a morpheme is inserted in this way, the term discontinuous morpheme is used.

Allomorphs: Allomorphs (members of the same morpheme) in English are phonologically conditioned, morphologically conditioned, grammatically conditioned, syntactically conditioned and lexically conditioned.

1. **Phonologically Conditioned Allomorphs:** When the selection of allomorphs is determined by the phonetic nature of the neighboring sound, then it is called phonologically conditioned.

The English plural and past tense morphemes are phonologically conditioned allomorphs.

(a) English plural maker /s/ has three phonologically conditioned allomorphs.

⇒ {-s} → /-s~-z~-iz/ or /-s,-z, əz/

1. /-s/ occurs after voiceless sounds except s and tʃ.
e.g. /kʌps/ 'cups' /kæts/ 'cats' /bʌks/ 'books'
2. /-z/ occurs after voiced sounds except z and dʒ.
e.g. /dogz/ 'dogs' /hændz/ 'hands' /nɪbz/ 'nibs'.
3. /-iz/ occurs after sibilants and affricants e.g. (s, z, tʃ, dʒ.)
/rowzəz/ 'roses' /kla:səz/ 'classes' /dɪʃəz/ 'dishes'

- b) English Past Tense Morpheme:- The English past tense morpheme contains three phonologically conditional allomorphs. They are /-t/, -d, -id/ or {t} → /-t ~ -d ~ -id/

/t/ occurs after voiceless sounds except /-t/

e.g: 'asked' /askd/

/-d/ occurs after voiced sounds except /-d/.

e.g: 'called' /kə:ld/ 'lived' /livd/

/-id/ occurs after words ending with /t/ and /d/

e.g: 'wanted' /wəntid/ 'rated' /reitid/ 'raided' /reidid/.

2. In the morphologically conditional allomorphs, the selection of allomorphs is determined by the specific morpheme or morphemes rather than any phonological features. In pairs like child-children, mouse-mice or ox-oxen in which the second item can be said to contain plural morpheme, we cannot state the variations between the two forms in terms of phonetic environments. Instead we must refer to each morpheme separately to their phonemic shape and specify that the allomorph is morphologically conditioned.
3. In English, Pike regards the forms I ~ me, he ~ him, she ~ her as allomorphs of same morpheme. Whenever I, he, she occurs, then me, him, her do not occur.
4. In English /-'s / is an example of syntactical conditioning. Example: John's Book, The King of England's. Here /-'s / means possession.
5. In English, the plural allomorph /-en/ and /φ/ occur occasionally with particular words which are limited in number. Example:
/-en/ as in *oxen*, *children*
/φ/ as in *sheep* – *sheep* + φ
Thus, /-en/ and /-φ/ are lexically conditioned allomorphs.

Problems of Morphological Analysis in English Language

The word *unhelpful* clearly consists of three morphemes which are realized by three morphs: the semantic root *-help*, *-ful* which derives the adjective and the negating prefix *un-*. These are easily identified because each has an obvious function and because one follows another, because they are cocatenated. But there are many cases where the morphological analysis of a word is less straightforward.

We have seen that there is no problem with *recover* in the sense of put a new cover but that there is less obvious justification for treating as two morphemes *recover* in the sense of getting better. Many words have an ancestor that consisted of two or more morphemes but are now morphologically indivisible, these now being no part of the word that has a distinct function. The word *reject* derives from the Latin elements *re-* and *-iacture* giving the sense of throwing back but nevertheless we cannot sensibly divide it; as we cannot *ject something, we cannot* ject something back or *ject something again. Our analysis must leave us with a root that can exist by itself.

Several linguists have referred to the problem of analysis presented by the word *cranberry*. If one is not content to regard the whole word as a single morpheme one is left with the problem of accounting for the element *cran-*. In fact, the name of this slender plant might relate to that of the bird that we call a *crane*.

The words *gums* and *lambs* are easily analyzed as the composition of a semantic root and a plural morpheme realized as /z/. But how do we analyze the words *teeth* and *sheep*? Similarly the word *walked* is easily analyzed as a semantic root plus a past tense morpheme but the word *ran* is not. In the case of *sheep* we can argue that the plural morpheme is realized by zero morph. But what about the words *teeth* and *ran* which undergo a change to the vowel of the root. Indeed, what about the word *went* which phonologically is totally unrelated to the word *go*.

Some scholars have concentrated on the word form rather than segments of the word. Such an approach is known as *word and paradigm* morphology. One or more morphemes are associated with the word as a whole, thus the semantic root *teeth* and the plural morpheme as the morph *teeth*, the semantic root *run* and the past tense morpheme are realized as a morph *ran*. But in the opinion of many this approach is superficial, revealing little about the process of word formation.

2.2.3 Syntactical features of British English

The word “Syntax” consists of two word-elements, syn-meaning “together” and -tax meaning “to put in order.” Thus, the etymological meaning of syntax is “putting things together in an orderly manner.”

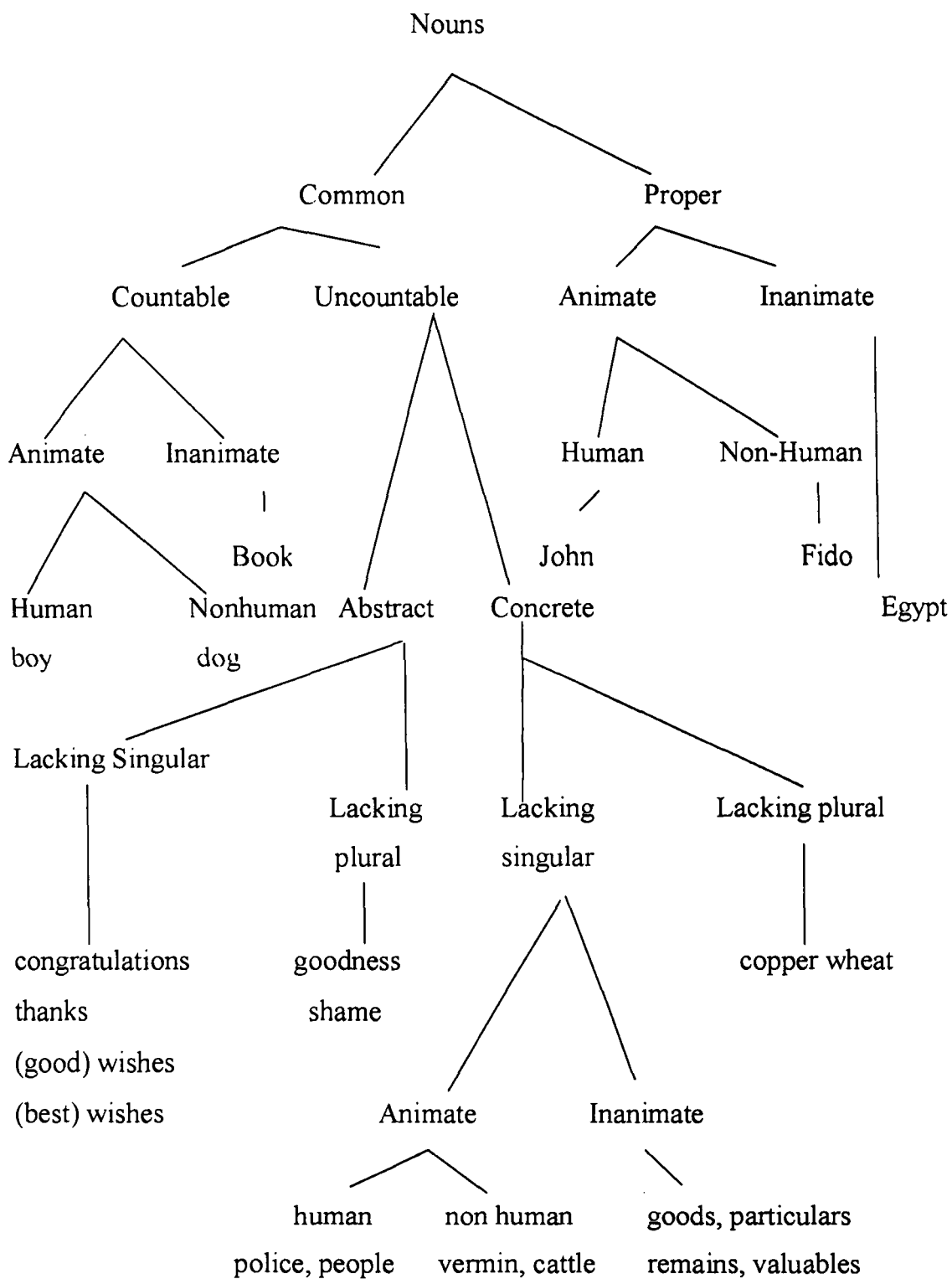
A sentence is usually defined as a group of words so arranged as to make complete sense. Every sentence consists of two main parts: a noun phrase (NP) and a verb phrase (VP). The NP functions as a subject of the sentence and the VP functions as its predicate.

Open and Closed Classes

Word classes in English fall into two broad groups: major word classes and minor word classes. The major word classes include nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The minor word classes include pronouns, determiners (articles, demonstratives, etc,) prepositions, conjunctions and interjections. The major word classes are known as open classes and the minor classes are known as closed classes.

Nouns, Pronouns and Nouns Phrases in English

Nouns in English: English nouns are divided into a number of sub-classes as shown in the following diagram:



Pronouns in English

Central and Non-central Pronouns: Central pronouns show variations of form from the point of view of person, gender and number. Non-central pronouns are not amenable to these variations.

Sub classes of Central Pronouns

Personal pronouns: They are characterized by the following features:

- (a) They are marked for person, i.e., 1st person, 2nd person and 3rd person. *I*, *me*, *my*, *mine*, *myself* and similarly, *we*, *us*, *our*, *ours*, *ourselves* are 1st person pronouns. All other pronouns like *he*, *she* and *they* are 3rd person pronouns.
- (b) They are marked for number. Pronoun like *I*, *he* and *she* are, for example, singular pronouns and *they* and *we* are plural pronouns. *You* can be used both as singular and plural.
- (c) The third person singular pronouns are amenable to gender differentiation, i.e., they are masculine, feminine or neuter.
- (d) They are marked for case, i.e., nearly all of them have three forms, the nominative (e.g. *I*, *we*, *he*), the accusative (e.g., *me*, *us*, *him*) and the genitive (e.g. *my*, *our*, *his*) forms.

The feature which differentiates personal pronouns from relative pronouns (e.g. *who* and *which*) is the fact that relative pronouns are not marked for person and number.

Reflexive Pronouns: These are pronouns ending in *-self*. They are marked for person and number but not for case. The third person singular pronoun is marked for gender as well (*himself*, *herself*.)

In some cases reflexive pronouns function as emphatic pronouns and in some other they function as non-emphatic pronouns. Emphatic reflexive pronouns are in opposition to their antecedent, e.g.:

The Prime Minister himself was not there.

I myself was not strongly in favor of that proposal.

Non-emphatic reflexive pronouns can occur as elements of clause structure, e.g.:

You don't *seem* to be *yourself* today. (Subject Complement)

He killed *himself* last year. (Direct Object)

She cooked *herself* an excellent lunch. (Benefactive Object)

I am going to give *myself* a treat. (Indirect Object)

They can also occur as complement to prepositions.

She was beside *herself* in anger.

I have reasons to be proud of *myself*.

Possessive pronouns: They have two distinct functions.

(a) They function as determiners in the structure of a noun-phrase, e.g.:

Most of our misfortunes are *our* creations.

My heart aches when I behold.

(b) They function independently as headwords of noun phrase, e.g.:

Mine is red but *his* is blue.

These are not *yours*.

Subclasses of Non-central pronouns

Relative pronouns: The words which are frequently used as relative pronouns are *who*, *which*, *whose*, *whom* and *that*. *When* and *where* can also be used as relative pronouns e.g.

She knows the place *where* I live.

There were times *when* we didn't know what to do.

There are two positions which relative pronouns occupy in a noun-phrase i.e., the position of a determiner and the position of a headword. *which* is the only relative pronoun that can initiate a sentential relative clause like the one italicized in the following sentence:

He is going to be married, *which is very good*.

Reciprocal Pronouns: Each other and one another are the two reciprocal pronouns in English. They can be used only in those sentences which have a plural or coordinated subject.

We have known *each other* for years. (Direct Object)

They have been writing letters to *each other* for months. (Indirect object)

They cooked *each other* a good meal. (Benefactive object)

The two of them seem to have been made for *each other*. (competitive to a Proposition)

These pronouns can occur in the genitive as well, e.g.

We must learn to respect *each other's* views.

Interrogative Pronouns: Who, Whose, Whom, What and which are interrogative pronouns in English.

Demonstrative Pronouns: This, there, that and these can be used as determiners and also as pronouns

Indefinite Pronouns: According to Quirk *et.al.*: "The remaining classes of pronouns are termed indefinite."

(i) Pronouns like *somebody*, *anything* and *no one*.

(ii) Pronoun which can be followed by *of*. *All*, *some*, *each* and *many* are examples of this subclass.

Noun Phrase and their Structure

The structure of a noun phrase in English can be formulaically described as follows:

Noun Phrase = (Pre determiner) + (Central Determiner) + (Post Determiner)
+ (Pre modifier (s)) + Head word + (Post modifier (s))

The brackets suggest that the items listed within these brackets are optional. The only item which is obligatory in the structure of a noun-phase is the headword. The three word classes which operate as *pre modifiers* in the structure of a noun phrase in English are nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

Nouns as Pre modifiers: A noun as a premodifier comes immediately before the headword.

university bus, *school* uniform, *traffic* jam.

It is possible for a headword to be premodified by a coordinate noun phrase consisting of two or more nouns having the same grammatical status.

a bread and butter problem.

a cock and bull story.

A premodifier can be in the form of a genitive: a men's shop, women's rights.

Adjectives as pre modifiers: The adjective pre modifier comes immediately after the post determiner and before the noun-premodifier.

three active student unions.

first reliable frequency count

Adverbs as Pre modifiers: A noun in English can be premodified by an adverb.

the *then* secretary, the *above* statement, an *up* train, the *inside* story.

Determiners: In English mostly words like a, an, the, this, that, all, each, and every are used as determiners.

Post modification in a Noun Phrase

Adverbs, Adjective or Adjective phrases, Prepositional Phrases Endocentric Noun Phrases, Non-finite Clauses and Finite clauses are used as post modifiers in English.

Adjectives as Post-modifiers: The contexts in which they occur in the post-head position are the following:

- (i) If the headword of a noun phrase is an indefinite pronoun: something *spectacular*, anything *new*
- (ii) This category includes adjectives ending in *-able* and *-ible* and adjectives like *alive*, *available*, *concerned* and *involved*.
- (ii) the richest man *alive*, the members *present*, the finest thing *possible*.

There are a number of adjectives which need a prepositional phrase in the form of a complement; such adjectives are often used in the post-modifying positions.

Laborers *averse* to this kind of hand work.

a person *suitable* for this job.

Adverbs as Post modifiers: Examples are: that lady *there*, the space *below*, this man *here*.

Prepositional Phrases: Examples are: a piece *of bread*, the day *before yesterday* and the bird *on that branch*.

Endocentric noun phrases as post modifiers: Examples are: an animal *that size*, a tree *this height*, a girl *her age* and a rock *that shape*.

Non-finite Clauses as post modifiers

Examples are:

- a) The first man *to land on the moon* was an American scientist.
- b) What are the conclusions *to be drawn from these premises*?
- c) His desire *to go to the USA for higher studies* remains unfilled.

Finite Clauses as modifiers:

A girl *who cannot dance* says the band cannot play.

There is a divinity *that shapes our ends*. (Shakespeare)

Death is the veil *which those who live call life*. (Shelley)

Adjectives and Adjective Phrases in English

1. Adjectives which can be used only attributively. e.g.

Prince Charles is the *future* king of England.

This horse is a *sure* winner.

This is the *very* girl I was looking for.

2. Adjectives which can be used only predicatively. e.g.:

afraid awake

alone glad

ashamed ill

asleep well

3. Adjectives which can be used only in the post-positive position, i.e. after the headword, in the structure of a noun phrase:

Asia *Minor* president *elect*

attorney *general* from time *immemorial*.

poet *laureate*

4. Adjectives which are mobile in the sense that they can be used attributively, predicatively, and also in the post-positive position, e.g.: good, clever, important, useful, expensive, small, foolish.

The Structure of Adjective Phrases in English:

An Adjective Phrase is a phrase of which the headword is an adjective. In its minimal form, it consists of only the headword. In its expanded form its headword can have one or more modifiers. The modifiers can be:

- an adverb or adverb phrase operating as pre modifier.
- an adverb enough operating as post modifier.
- a prepositional phrase operating as post modifier.

- a non-finite clause operating as post modifier.
- a finite clause operating as post modifier.

Adverb or Adverb phrases as premodifier:

rather difficult.

really very beautiful.

surprisingly easy.

Adverb *enough* as a post modifier:

wise enough.

clever enough to pass the exam.

Prepositional phrases as post modifiers:

suitable *for the job*.

junior *to all other members of the staff*

found *of playing bridge*.

Non-finite clauses as modifiers:

eager *to please you all*.

anxious *to please everyone concerned*

busy *writing his report*.

Finite clauses as post modifiers:

I am worried *that there may be another cyclone this year*.

Are you certain *that he has arrived*?

Verb and Verb Phrases in English

English verbs can broadly be classified into following five types:

Linking Verbs

John *is* a teacher

She *became* very rich

Intransitive verbs

The moon *rose*. That stranger has *disappeared*.
Fire *burns*. The old woman was *dying*

Mono-transitive Verb

Did you *like* that film?
Shakespeare *wrote* many plays.
We *cleaned* all the rooms yesterday.
He *resembles* his father.

Ditransitive Verbs

He *wrote* me a letter.
She *cooked* me a good meal.
Her father brought her *a new car*.
That book *cost* me 50 dollars.

Complex Transitive Verbs

He *painted* the wall green.
I *found* the plan unworkable
They *obliged* us to go.

Auxiliary Verbs and Main verbs in English

Main verbs are also known full verbs or logical verbs. Main verbs operate as the headword of the verb phrase in which they occur whereas auxiliary verbs operate as an item dependent on the main verb. e.g.

The letter <i>is</i> being typed	}	Auxiliary Verbs
I <i>have</i> finished reading that book		
Half a loaf <i>is</i> better than no bread.	}	Model Verbs
What shall we <i>have</i> for dinner?		

Auxiliary Verbs are divided into two subclasses:

Primary Auxiliaries: be, have and do.

Modal Auxiliaries: can, may, shall, will etc.

Verb Phrases and their Structure

Verb Phrases in English cannot have post modifiers in them in the sense in which Noun Phrases, adjective phrases, and adverbs phrases can.

Verb Phrases with one auxiliary:

can type (Modal +Lex. verb)

is typing (Auxillary of the prog. Aspect + lex. verbs)

has typed (Auxillary of the perf. aspect + lex. verb)

Verb Phrases with two auxiliaries:

She *may have* typed the letter. (Modal + Aux. of the perf. aspect + lex. verb)

The letter *may be* typed tomorrow. (Modal + Aux. of the perf. aspect + voice + lex.verb)

She *has been* typing the letter. (Aux of the perf. aspect + Aux.of the prog aspect + lex.verb)

The letter *is being* typed. (Aux. of the pass. voice + Aux. of the prog.aspect + lex.verb)

Verb Phrases with three auxiliaries:

She *may have been* typing the letter. (Model + Aux.of the perf. aspect +Aux. of the prog.aspect+lex.verb)

The letter *may be being* typed. (Modal + Aux.of the pass. voice + Aux. of the prog. aspect + lex. verb)

Verb Phrases with four auxiliaries:

The letter *may have been being* typed. (Model + Aux. of the perf.aspect + Aux. of the pass. voice + Aux. of the prog. aspect + lex.verb)

The structure of English does not permit more than four auxiliary verbs in any one-verb phrase.

Adverbs and Adverb Phrases in English

Syntactic classification of Adverbs in English

The two broad functions of adverbs can be stated:

(i) To operate independent as a headword. e.g.

He did it *nicely*; He is busy *nowadays*.

(ii) To operate as a modifier in the structure of a phrase.

1. Adverbs can modify a noun.

the bedroom *upstairs*; the sentence *below*.

2. Adverbs can modify a pronoun *nearly everybody*, *almost everyone*.

3. Adverbs can modify an adjective.

He is an *extremely nice* person.

4. Adverbs can modify another adverb.

He did that *very well*.

5. Adverbs can modify a determiner.

nearly all the universities.

almost a week ago.

6. Adverbs can modify a preposition or a prepositional phrase.

The bullet went *right through* his chest and then hit a wall.

That tree is *exactly in the middle* of that park.

The Structure of Adverb Phrases in English

An Adverb phrase in its minimal form consists of only a headword. In its expanded form its headword can be modified by a pre modifier, a post modifier as a discontinuous modifier.

Pre modifier:

hardlyever, really well, very efficiently,
almost never, fairly soon

Post modifier: It can be *enough* or a finite clause.

I am sure he will do it well enough. (enough)

The guest arrived earlier *than they were expected*. (Finite clause)

Discontinuous modifier

1. As + adverbs + as + phrase/clause.

My computer can process this data *as fast as yours*.

I have been working as hard *as I should*.

2. More/less + adverb + than + phrase/clause.

This year he had such attacks *more often than in the past*.

These days he treats us *less kindly than he used to*.

3. So + Adverb + clause (finite/non finite).

He organized the meeting *so well that everyone praised them*.

He spoke *so fast that nobody could understand what he was saying*.

4. Too + adverb + nonfinite clause.

We are driving *too slowly to get to that place on time*.

He spoke *too fast for us to understand his whole speech*.

She was driving *too fast for us to overtake her*.

In all such cases of discontinuous modifiers, the first part functions like a premodifier and the second part like a post modifier.

2.3 American English

American English (AmE) is the dialect of the English language used mostly in the United States of America. It is estimated that approximately two thirds of native speakers of English live in the United States. American English is also sometimes called United States English or U.S. English. The use of English in the United States has been inherited from British colonization. The first wave of English-speaking settlers arrived in North America in the 17th century. In that century, there were also speakers in North America of Dutch, French, German, Spanish, Swedish, Scots, Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Finnish, and myriad Native American languages.

In many ways, compared to British English, American English is conservative in its phonology. Dialect in North America is most distinctive on the East Coast of the continent; this is partly because these areas were in contact with England, and imitated prestigious varieties of British English at a time when those varieties were undergoing changes. The interior of the country was settled by people who were no longer closely connected to England, as they had no access to the ocean during a time when journeys to Britain were always by sea. As such, the inland speech is much more homogeneous than the East Coast speech and did not imitate the changes in speech from England.

Most North American speech is rhotic, as English was in most places in the 17th century. Rhoticity was further supported by Hiberno-English, Scottish English, and West Country English. In most varieties of North American English, the sound corresponding to the letter "R" is a retroflex or alveolar approximant rather than a trill or a tap. The loss of syllable-final *r* in North America is confined mostly to the accents of eastern New England, New York City and surrounding areas, South Philadelphia, and the coastal portions of the South. Dropping of

syllable-final *r* sometimes happens in natively rhotic dialects if *r* is located in unaccented syllables or words and the next syllable or word begins in a consonant. In England, lost 'r' was often changed into [ə] (schwa,) giving rise to a new class of falling diphthongs. Furthermore, the 'er' sound of (stressed) *fur* or (unstressed) *butter*, which is represented in IPA as stressed [ɜː] or unstressed [ɚ] is realized in American English as a monophthongal r-colored vowel. This does not happen in the non-rhotic varieties of North American speech.

Some other British English changes in which most North American dialects do not participate:

- The shift of [æ] to [ɑ] (the so-called "broad A") before [f], [s], [θ], [ð], [z], [v] alone or preceded by [n]. This is the difference between the British Received Pronunciation and American pronunciation of *bath* and *dance*. In the United States, only linguistically conservative eastern New England speakers took up this innovation, which is becoming increasingly rare even there.
- The shift of intervocalic [t] to glottal stop [ʔ], as in /bʊʔəl/ for *bottle*. This change is not universal for British English (and in fact is not considered to be part of Received Pronunciation,) but it does not occur in most North American dialects. Newfoundland English and the dialect of New Britain, Connecticut are notable exceptions.

On the other hand, North American English has undergone some sound changes not found in Britain, at least not in standard varieties. Many of these are instances of phonemic differentiation and include:

- The merger of [ɑ] and [ɒ], making *father* and *bother* rhyme. This change is nearly universal in North American English, occurring almost everywhere except for parts of eastern New England, like the Boston accent.

- The replacement of the lot vowel with the strut vowel in most utterances of the words *was*, *of*, *from*, *what*, *everybody*, *nobody*, *somebody*, *anybody*, *because*, and in some dialects *want*.
- The merger of [ɒ] and [ɔ]. This is the so-called cot-caught merger, where *cot* and *caught* are homophones. This change has occurred in eastern New England, in Pittsburgh and surrounding areas, and from the Great Plains westward.
- Vowel merger before intervocalic /ɾ/. Which (if any) vowels are affected varies between dialects.
- The merger of [ʊ] and [ɜ] after palatals in some words, so that *cure*, *pure*, *mature* and *sure* rhyme with *fir* in some speech registers for some speakers.
- Dropping of [j] after alveolar consonants so that *new*, *duke*, *Tuesday*, *suit*, *resume*, *lute* are pronounced /nu:/, /du:k/, /tu:zdeɪ/, /su:t/, /ɪzu:m/, /lu:t/.
- æ-tensing in environments that vary widely from accent to accent. In some accents, particularly those from Philadelphia to New York City, [æ] and [eə] can even contrast sometimes, as in *Yes, I can* [kæn] vs. *tin can* [keən].
- Laxing of /e/, /i/ and /u/ to /ɛ/, /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ before /ɹ/, causing pronunciations like [pɛɹ], [pɪɹ] and [pʊɹ] for *pair*, *peer* and *pure*.
- The flapping of intervocalic /t/ and /d/ to alveolar tap [ɾ] before reduced vowels. The words *ladder* and *latter* are mostly or entirely homophonous, though distinguished by some speakers by a lengthened vowel preceding an underlying 'd.' For some speakers, the merger is incomplete and 't' before a reduced vowel is sometimes not tapped following [eɪ] or [ɪ] when it represents underlying 't'; thus *greater* and *grader* are distinguished. Even among those words where /t/ and /d/ are flapped, words that would otherwise be homophonous are, for some speakers, distinguished if the

flapping is immediately preceded by the diphthongs /aɪ/ or /aʊ/; these speakers tend to pronounce *writer* with [əɪ] and *rider* with [aɪ]. This is called Canadian raising; it is general in Canadian English, and occurs in some northerly versions of American English as well (often just applying to the diphthong /aɪ/, but not to /aʊ/.)

- Both intervocalic /nt/ and /n/ may be realized as [n] or [ɾ], making *winter* and *winner* homophones. This does not occur when the second syllable is stressed, as in *entail*.
- The pin-pen merger, by which [ɛ] is raised to [ɪ] before nasal consonants, making pairs like *pen/pin* homophonous. This merger originated in Southern American English but is now found in parts of the Midwest and West as well.

Some mergers found in most varieties of both American and British English include:

- The horse-hoarse merger of the vowels [ɔ] and [oʊ] before 'r', making pairs like *horse/hoarse*, *corps/core*, *for/four*, *morning/mourning* etc. homophones.

The wine-whine merger making pairs like *wine/whine*, *wet/whet*, *Wales/whales*, *wear/where* etc. homophones, in most cases eliminating /w/, the voiceless labiovelar fricative. Many older varieties of southern and western American English still keep these distinct, but the merger appears to be spreading.

2.3.1 Phonological Features of American English

Consonants of American English: Consonants are those sounds which are produced by completely or partially stopping the breath; they can either be voiceless (VL) or voiced (VD) and often come in sound pairs.

Consonants of American English

	Lips togethe r	Bottom lip- teeth	Tongue- teeth	Tongue on tooth ridge	Hard palate	Back of tongue on soft palate	Throa t
	VL VD	VL VD	VL VD	VL VD	VL VD	VL VD	VL
Stop	p b			t d		k g	
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ		h
Affricate					tʃ dʒ		
Nasal	m			n		ŋ	
Liquid				l	r		
Glide					y	w	

(Table: 8)

The following table illustrates the *American English consonant sounds* initially, medially, and finally (note that not every *consonant* occurs in all three locations in the word, and that there can be several conventionally spelled representations of a given *consonant sound*, as for the *f* sound in *fit*, *staff*, *laugh*, *cipher*, and *half*.)

INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL
b bad	cabin	Nib
d dad	bedding	bed
f fad	awful	staff
g gas	haggard	bag
h hat	ahold	far (as in <i>r</i> -less dialects, or as semivowel only)
j jib	midget	badge

k king	baker	sack
l less	mellow	mill
m meat	demur	dam
n now	menace	tin
p par	taper	nape
r reed	teary	far (in dialects with final <i>r</i>)
s sat	thistle	lass
t tile	bitten	hat
v voice	sliver	brave
w will	awash	how (as semivowel only)
y yacht	union	bay (as semivowel only)
z zebra	dazzle	raise
ch chin	catcher	pitch
sh shin	mission	fish
th thin	nothing	bath (voiceless)
th this	bother	lathe
zh Jean (French only)	leisure	beige
ng Ngaio (Maori only)	singer	long

Table: 9

Note that *zh-* does not occur initially in English words, although it does in French *gendarme* and the like.

Doubling of Consonants

Some useful generalizations about the spelling issue are given below:

1. Words that end in a single vowel plus a single consonant usually double the final consonant before adding a suffix that begins with a vowel: stop becomes stopped, stopping, stopper, and unstoppable. Thus snip becomes sniper, but snipe becomes sniper.
2. Most words that end in two consonants do not ordinarily double the final consonant before a suffix: print becomes printed, printing, and printer.
3. If the suffix begins with a consonant instead of a vowel, the final consonant of the base word stays single: ship becomes shipment and clap becomes claptrap.
4. Words of two and more syllables that are stressed on the final syllable normally double the final consonant before adding a suffix: infer becomes inferred and inferring.
5. Two-syllable words stressed on the final syllable do not double the final consonant when the suffix begins with a consonant: regret becomes regretting but regretful.
6. Words stressed on the final syllable but ending with two consonants or with a vowel do not double the consonant: predict becomes predicting and predicted; reduce becomes reducer and reduced.
7. Words that end in -c usually add a k before the suffix: panic becomes panicking; picnic, picnicked.
8. In words of more than one syllable ending in a consonant, especially -l, the English generally (but not always) double the final consonant, and Americans generally do not, although American dictionaries frequently report divided usage. Here are some examples:

American English

canceled, cancelled

crueler, crueler

jeweler, jeweller

kidnaped, kidnapped

labeled, labelled

quarreled, quarrelled

traveled, travelled

transshipped, transhipped

British English

cancelled

crueler

jeweller

kidnapped

labelled

quarrelled

travelled

transhipped

Consonant Sound Pairs:

1. Voiceless/t/ & Voiced/d/

Word Final -ed = /t, d, Id/

voiceless sound (except written t) +

voiceless/t/

stop + /t/

voiced sound (except written d) +

voiced/d/

call + /d/try + /d/

written t & d + /Id/

want + /Id/ aid + /Id/

- Looked, worked, talked, liked

- Passed, stopped, crashed

- Laughed, watched

- Opened, learned, realized,
changed, arrived, rolled, lived,
shared, skilled

- Played, employed, glued,
studied, tried

- climbed

- dried

- elected, expected, hated,
interested, lasted, painted,
reported, started, toasted

- needed, ended, decided, sounded

2. Voiceless/s/ & Voiced /z/

Word Final -s = /s, z, Iz/

The pronunciation of written -s, es, 's is based on the final sound of a word, before adding -s.

voiceless sound + voiceless /s/

stop + /s/

Voiced sound + voiced /z/

Call + /z/

/s, z/

/ʃ, z/

/tʃ, dʒh/

+ /Iz/

miss + /Iz/

- cats, looks, likes, stops, laughs, its, it's
- silent t: elects, paints, lasts, wants
- Silent th: months, depths, lengths
- arrives, learns, opens, robs
- marries, tries, employs, stays
- seas, sees, he's she's
- Silent th: clothes, /klowz/
- /s/ kisses, entrances prices [written -ce= /s/]
- /z/ freezes, causes, [written -se /s/ or /z/]
- /ʃ/ crashes, washes
- /z/ buzzles, fizzes
- /tʃ/ watches, catches
- /dʒh/ changes, encourages

3. Words with Silent Letters

Sound-Spelling Pattern: Silent P-B, Silent K-G, Silent T-D, Silent CH, Silent H, Silent L, Silent M, Silent N, Silent S, Silent TH, Silent W, GH Words, Unstressed Vowel + R and Homophones.

(i) Consonant Sound Pair: Voiceless /p/ & Voiced /b/

Silent p: pneumonia, pseudonym, psychiatrist, psalm, corps, coup, cupboard, raspberry, receipt.

Silent b: debt, doubt, crumb, dumb, numb, thumb, plumber, tomb, lamb, climb, bomb, comb.

(ii) Consonant Sound Pair: Voiceless /k/ & Voiced /g/

Silent k: knee, kneel, knelt, know, knew, known, knowledge, knife, knight, knot.

Silent g: gnome, gnu, gnash, campaign, reign, foreigner, diaphragm, sign, design, resign.

(iii) Consonant Sound Pair: Voiceless t and Voiced d

Silent t: castle, whistle, catch, watch, kitchen, chestnut, Christmas, fasten, listen, often, soften, mortgage, mustn't.

Many words of French origin: ballet, buffet, chalet, crochet, gourmet, valet, depot, debut.

3 consonant sounds at the end of a word = middle 't' is silent: acts, ducts, students.

Silent d: handkerchief, handsome, Wednesday, ma'am = madam.

(iv) Silent ch = yatch.

(v) Consonant sound voiceless /h/

Silent h: ghetto, ghost, heir, honor, what, when, where, why, while, whether, white, rhythm, rhyme, Thomas, Theresa, Oprah, Hannah.

(vi) Consonant sound voiced /l/

Silent l: calf, half, salve, balm, calm, palm, psalm, chalk, talk, walk, could, should, would, colonel, folks, Lincoln, almond, salmon.

(vii) Consonant Sounds: Voiced /m/ and Voiced /n/

Silent m: mnemonic.

Silent n: autumn, hymn, solemn, damn.

(viii) Consonant sound voiceless /s/: aisle, island, debris, Arkansas, Illinois.

(ix) Consonant Sound Pair: Voiceless /θ/ and φ voiced /ð/

Silent th: asthma

Three consonant sounds at the end of a word, middle 'th' is silent: clothes, months, depths, lengths.

(x) Consonant Sound Voiced /w/

Silent w: answer, sword, toward, two, whole, whom, whose, write, wrote, written, writing, wrap, wrestle, wrist.

(xi) GH Words: Written “gh” has no sound of its own. It’s never pronounced as it’s written, i.e. /gh/. The gh is beginning to disappear in some written words, with the new spelling reflecting the pronunciation of the word.

gh = /g/ : Afghanistan, aghast, Ghana, gherkin, ghost, ghoul, ghetto, spaghetti.

gh = /ɔf/ : cough, trough, rough, tough, enough, slough, off.

gh = /əp/ : Hiccough

gh = /æf/ : laugh, draught (*draft*)

/ɔ/ + silent gh : daughter, slaughter, fraught, ought to, haughty, naughty.

Past tense verbs

catch caught, teach taught, buy bought, bring brought, fight fought, seek sought, think thought.

/ay/+ silent gh : bright, light, night, sigh, sight, high, height.

/ey/ + silent gh : neighbor, sleigh, weigh, weight, straight.

/ow/ + silent gh : (al)though, dough, doughnut (*donut*), borough (*boro*), thorough.

/uw/ + silent gh : through.

/aw/ + silent gh : bough, plough (*plow*), drought

(xii) Consonant Sound Voiced r = /ər/

Unstressed vowel + r = vowel not pronounced

pr, br	fr, vr	tr	...
aspirin	comfortable	documentary	honorable
temperature	different	elementary	miserable
opera	every		
laboratory	beverage	interested	
deliberate	favorable	interesting	
	favorite		

(xiii) Homophones: They are the words with same pronunciation but different spelling and different meaning.

- a:** air heir ere ... aisle isle I'll ... altar alter ... ant aunt ... ate eight
- b:** balm ... been bin ... beer bier ... berry, bury ... berth birth ... bedding
betting ... billed build ... bite byte ... blew, blue ... boar bore ... board
bored ... boro borough ... burro burrow ... bough bow ... boll bowl ...
brake break ... bread bred ... bridal bridle ... buy by bye
- c:** cache cash ... capital capitol ... cast, caste ... cell sell ... cent sent scent ...
cereal serial ... cheap cheep ... check cheque Czech ... chews choose ...
choral coral cite sight site ... close clothes ... coarse course ... colonel
kernel complement compliment ... core corps ... coup coo
- d:** dam damn ... dear deer ... dew do due ... doe dough ... done dun ... ducks
ducts
- e:** earn urn
- f:** fair fare ... fill phil ... find fined ... for (*unstressed*) fir fur ... flea flee ...
flew flu flue ... flour flower ... for fore four ... forth fourth ... freeze frees
frieze
- g:** groan grown

- h:** hair hare ... heard herd ... hear here ... heed he'd ... hi high ... him hymn
... higher hire ... hole whole ... hoarse horse ... hour our
- i:** it's its
- j:** jim, gym
- k:** knight night ... knit nit ... knot not ... know no
- l:** lead n. led v ... lessen lesson ... liar lyre
- m:** meat meet mete ... mean mien ... moan mown ... mode mowed ... morning
mourning.
- n:** need knead ... new knew gnu ... night knight ... nome gnome ... none nun
... not knot
- o:** oar or ore ... one won
- p:** pain pane ... pear pair pare ... peace piece ... peak peek pique ... per purr
... peer pier ... poor pore ... principal principle ... pudding putting
- q:** No sounds found
- r:** rain reign ... rap wrap ... read, reed ... read, red ... right rite wright ... road
rode ... rose rows ... rote wrote
- s:** sea see ... seas sees seize c's ... scene seen ... sell cell ... shone shown ...
shoe shoo ... sight site cite ... slay sleigh ... some, sum ... son, sun ... stair
stare ... stationary staionery ... steal steel ... straight strait
- t:** taught taut ... their there they're ... threw through thru ... throne throne ...
tie thai ... thyme time ... to too two
- u:** u ewe you yew
- v:** valve veil ... vial vile
- w:** wait whale wale ... wait weight ... war wore ... ware wear where ... warn
worn ... way weigh whey ... what are you, what do you ... weal wheel ...
wine whine ... wrote rote
- y:** you yew ewe u ... your you're

Vowels of American English

A vowel sound is an open sound, i.e. it is produced by not blocking the breath with the lips, teeth, or tongue. Vowel sounds are always voiced (VD), i.e. the vocal cords vibrate. The word “vowel” came into English from the Latin *vocalis* meaning “voice” and they can form a syllable by itself: hell-o, aw-ful.

American Vowels

	b__d	IPA		b__d	IPA
1	bead	i:	9	bode	ou
2	bid	ɪ (i)	10	booed	u:
3	bayed	eɪ (ei)	11	bud	ʌ
4	bed	ɛ (e)	12	bird	ɜ: (ə)
5	bad	æ	13	bide	aɪ (ai)
6	bod(y)	a:	14	bowed	aʊ
7	bawd	ɔ:	15	Boyd	ɔɪ (ɔi)
8	budd(hist)	ʊ (u)			

Table: 10**Reduction Patterns**

The vowel in an unstressed syllable becomes schwa /ə/, /ɪ/, or disappears completely.

Reduced Forms

+ to, + of, + have, + me, + you, can, donno, Unstressed Vowel + R, Contractions (Pronoun + Verb) I ... you, he ... she ... it ... we ... you ... they.

(i) Reduction + to Pattern

Reductions are common in natural speech. Written reduced forms in advertisements, songs, personal writing, reflect natural spoken language. They are not standard written English.

Reduced form (reflects natural spoken language)	Standard written form
gotta	got to
hafta	have to
hasta	has to
wanna	want to
gonna	going to
oughta	ought to

(ii) Reduction + of Pattern

Reduced form	Standard written form
kinda	kind of
kindsa	kinds of
lotta	lot of
lotsa	lots of

(iii) Reduction + have Pattern

Reduced form	Standard written form
coulda	could have
shoulda	should have
woulda	would have
mighta	might have
musta	must have

(iv) Reduction + me Pattern

Written form	Standard written form
gimme	give me
lemme	let me

(v) Reduction + you pattern

Reduced form	Standard written form
getcha	get you
gotcha	got you
betcha	bet you
doncha	don't you
waddya	What are you...?
waddya	What do you...?

(vi) Reduction can-can't pattern

can	can't
Can I help you?	Can't I help you?
<i>Can</i> is unstressed because the important information is in the verb <i>help</i> .	<i>Can't</i> is stressed because it's the important information.
Can I?	Can't I?
Yes, you can.	No, you can't

(vii) Reduction don't know pattern

Reduced form	Standard written form
I dunno	I don't know

(viii) Vowel Reduction unstressed vowel + r = vowel not pronounced.

pr, br	fr, vr	tr	...
aspirin	comfortable	documentary	honorable
temperature	different	elementary	miser
opera	every		
laboratory	beverage	interested	
deliberate	favorable	interesting	
separate	favorite		

Stress pattern

(i) **Acronyms:** Stress is on the last letter.

IBM, BCC, MI5, CIA, FBI, ASPCA.

(ii) **Compound Nouns and phrasal verbs (Two-Part Words)**

2-PART NOUNS Compound nouns stress the first part	2-PART VERBS Phrasal verbs stress the preposition
a takeover	to take over
a getup	to get up
a letdown	to let down
a liftoff	to lift off
a printout	to print out
mailman	
greenhouse	
fireman	
the White House	
hot dog	
popcorn	
roommate	
school bus	

(iii) Stress pattern on two syllable words

(a) 2-Syllable Nouns

NOUNS 90% stressed on the first syllable	NOUNS (foreign Borrowings) most stressed on the last syllable	COMPOUND NOUNS stressed on the first syllable
answer	Words of	A take over
asthma	French	a getup
castle	origin	A letdown
chaos		a liftoff
salmon	<i>Silent-et</i>	a printout
echo	Ballet	
neighbor	buffet	Mailman
chicken	chalet	greenhouse
Christmas	Fillet	Fireman
kitchen	gourmet	the White
climate	Valet	House
island		hot dog
chorus	ch = /ʃ/	Popcorn
choir	champagne	Roommate
doughnut	crochet	school bus
honor	chalet	
knowledge	chagrin	
mother	chateau	
stomach	chiffon	
student	machine	
	brochure	

**Compare – ain nouns
and verbs**

ge = /ʒ/

barrage

corsage

garage

verb

massage

mirage

to complain

to entertain

que

to explain

antique

to maintain

technique

to remain

unique

Nouns

mountain

fountain

(b) 2-Syllable Verbs

VERBS	2-WORD VERBS
Stress the root	Phrase verbs stress the preposition
Root = first syllable	to take over
to travel	to get up
to harden	to lift off
to straighten	To print out
to offer	
to study	
root = 2nd syllable	
to attend	
to collect	

to elect
to prevent
to begin
to survive
verbs
to complain
to entertain
to explain
to maintain

(c) 2-Syllable Adjectives, Adverbs, Prepositions

ADJECTIVES Stress the root	ADVERBS & PREPOSITIONS Stress the root
Root = first syllable	root = first syllable
cautious	Always
happy	later
pleasant	often
solid	over
proper	shortly
sunny	slowly
hungry	sooner
useful	under
Root = second syllable	root = second syllable
complete	perhaps
extreme	indeed
alive	unless
distinct	besides
precise	until
complete	above
intense	below
enough	before

(d) Homographs

NOUNS 90% are stressed on the first syllable	VERBS Prefix + root stress on the root
the addict	to addict
the conduct	to conduct
the conflict	to conflict
the contract	to contract
the convert	to convert
the convict	to convict
the defect	to defect
the desert	to desert
the insert	to insert
the insult	to insult
the object	to object
the permit	to permit
the present	to present
the produce	the produce
the progress	the progress
the project	the project
the rebel	the rebel
the record	the record
the subject	the subject
the suspect	the suspect

(vi) Stress pattern on 3-Syllable Words

In words of three or more syllables, stress usually falls on the syllable immediately before the suffix. The chart below shows exceptions to this pattern.

Stress falls on the suffix	Stress falls 2 syllables before the suffix
-ee	-ate
employee	verbs
referee	to appreciate
refugee	to initiate
	to operate
	nouns, adjectives
	certificate
	delicate
-eer	-ize
auctioneer	verbs
engineer	to apologize
volunteer	to authorize
	to recognize
exceptions	
-ee	
committee	

(v) Unstressed suffixes

(a) Unstressed t, d + i, u

	/tʃ/		/dʒh/
-(s)tion	christian question suggestion	-du	education
-ntial	essential residential	-di-	soldier
-tu	adventure furniture future, lecture nature, picture situation congratulate		
-te-	amateur		

(b) Unstressed Endings (nouns / adjectives)

Stress falls on the syllable immediately preceding the suffix.

	/ʃ/		/z/
-c-	social	Unstressed –su-	leisure
-cial	special		measure
-cian	physician		pleasure
-ciate	appreciate		treasure
-cious	delicious		
-ss-, -ssian	Russian	sia(n)	Asia
-ssion	profession	sion	Indonesia
-ssu-	tissue		television
-ssure	pressure		supervision
-t-	initial		
-tia	negotiate		
-tion	education		
	graduation		
	situation		
-tious	cautious		

(c) Can-can't pattern

A word is stressed when it's the important piece of information.

can unstressed	can stressed	can't stressed
Can I help you with that?	Can I?	Can't help you?
I can help you with that?	Yes, I can .	Can't I? No, I can't . I can't help you.
Can she do that for me?	Can you?	Can't you help me with that
She can do that for me.	Yes, you can .	Can't you? No, you can't help me with that.

		No, you can't .
Can he come before 5:00?	Can he?	Can't he come before 5:00?
He can come before 5:00.	Yes, he can .	Can't he?
		No, he can't .
		He can't come before 5:00
Can we count on you?	Can we?	Can't we count on you?
We can count on you.	Yes, we can .	Can't we?
		No, we can't .
		We can't count on you.
Can they find it?	Can they?	Can't they find it?
They can find it.	Yes, they can .	Can't they?
		No, they can't .
		They can't find it.

(vi) Sentence stress

Positive stress on the main verb	Negative stress normally on the main verb	Negative stress for a strong negative, stress the auxiliary verb
I like it.	I don't like it.	I don't like it.
I want it.	I don't want it.	I don't want it.
I know her.	I don't know her.	I don't know her.
She has one.	She doesn't have it.	She doesn't have it.
He bought it.	They didn't buy one.	They didn't buy one. He
He had it.	He didn't have it.	didn't have it.
She made it.	She didn't make it.	She didn't make it

2.3.2 Grammar of American English

This section deals with grammar, word order, grammatical agreement, parts of speech, conjunctions, pronouns, and verbs.

Absolute Construction

Absolute constructions consist of a noun and some kind of modifier, the most common being a participle. Because they often come at the beginning of a sentence, they are easily confused with dangling participles. An absolute construction modifies the rest of the sentence, not the subject of the sentence (as a participial phrase does.) We can use absolute constructions to compress two sentences into one and to vary sentence structure as a means of holding a reader's interest. Here are some examples:

No other business arising, the meeting was adjourned.

The paint now dry, we brought the furniture out on the deck.

The truck finally loaded, they said goodbye to their neighbors and drove off.

The horse loped across the yard, *her foal trailing behind her*.

Constructions like these are used more often in writing than in speaking, where it is more common to use a full clause: *When the paint was dry*, we brought the furniture out on the deck. There are, however, many fixed absolute constructions that occur frequently in speech:

The picnic is scheduled for Saturday, *weather permitting*.

Barring bad weather, we plan to go to the beach tomorrow.

All things considered, it's not a bad idea.

Absolute terms

Absolute terms are words that supposedly cannot be compared, as by *more* and *most*, or used with an intensive modifier, such as *very* or *so*. The terms identified in many handbooks as absolute include *absolute* itself and others such as *chief*, *complete*, *perfect*, *prime* and *unique*. Language commentators also like to list

terms from mathematics as absolutes: *circular, equal, parallel, perpendicular*, and so on.

Of course, many adjectives in English cannot normally be compared or intensified. Adjectives from technical fields or with very narrow meanings often fall in this group. For example, *biological, catabolic, macroeconomic, millennial, on-line, retroactive, ultraviolet*. We do not encounter statements like *These cells are more somatic* or *Our database is so on-line*. But we do come across remarks such as *He wanted to make his record collection more complete* and *You can improve the sketch by making the lines more perpendicular*.

People object to these constructions because they seem to violate the categories of logic. Something is either complete or it isn't. Lines are either perpendicular or they aren't. There can be no in-between. The mistake here is to confuse pure logic or a mathematical ideal with the working approximations that distinguish the ordinary use of language. Certainly, we all have occasion to use words according to strict logic. It would be impossible to teach mathematics if we did not. But we also think in terms of a scale or spectrum, rather than in distinct, either/or categories. Thus, we may think of a statement as either true or false according to rigorous tests of logic, but we all know that there are degrees of truthfulness and falsehood. Similarly, there may be degrees of completeness to a record collection, and some lines may be more perpendicular – that is, they may more nearly approximate mathematical perpendicularity – than other lines: *Is that picture frame more horizontal now, or have I made it even less? She has some of the most unique credentials I have ever seen on a resume*. Such examples are not less logical than their stricter counterparts. They simply represent a different way of using language to discuss a subject.

Certain absolute terms, such as *parallel, perfect*, and *unique*, have become enshrined in the lore of writing handbooks and may provoke a negative response when modified by degree.

Adjectives

We often use adjectives – words that modify nouns – to make comparisons. We say *That building is bigger than this one*, *She is the most intelligent student in the class*, and so on. Some adjectives add -er and -est to form the comparative and superlative degrees. Others cannot do this, but must be preceded by *more* and *most*. But how do we know which is which? Fortunately, there are some simple rules we can follow. Adjectives that have one syllable usually take -er and -est. Adjectives that have two syllables and end in *y* (*early*), *ow* (*narrow*), and *le* (*gentle*), can also take -er and -est. Almost all other adjectives with two or more syllables require the use of *more* and *most*. The rules are indicated in the chart below:

Number of Syllables	Unchanged	Comparative	Superlative
1	fast	faster	Fastest
2	happy	happier	Happiest
	complex	more complex	most complex
3 or more	beautiful	more beautiful	most beautiful

English also has a few adjectives whose comparative and superlative forms are irregular:

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
good	better	best
bad	worse	worst
little	littler, less	littlest, least
far	farther, further	farthest, furthest

We can also compare adjectives in a decreasing way by using *less* and *least*: *Jack is less skilful at carpentry than Bill is*. *Roberta is the least likely employee to have complained about working conditions*.

There are also some adjectives, like *acoustic*, *biological*, and *reverse*, that cannot be compared and others like *unique*, *parallel*, and *perfect*, whose comparison is controversial.

Adverbs

Adverbs modify verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, and sometimes entire clauses or sentences. Many adjectives can be made into adverbs by adding the suffix *-ly*:

We made a *conservative* estimate of the costs.

We estimated the costs *conservatively*.

The monosyllabic adjectives *fast*, *hard*, and *long* do not change to form adverbs:

He is a *fast* runner. He runs *fast*.

She is a *hard* worker. She works *hard*.

We waited for a *long* time. Have you been waiting *long*?

Some adjectives, like *close* and *high*, have two adverbial forms: one that is unchanged and one that ends in *-ly*.

We are *close* friends. Stay *close* to me. Look *closely* at the first chapter.

The platform is *high*. The bird flew *high*. The artist was *highly* praised.

Similar rules to those for comparing adjectives apply to adverbs and are shown in the chart below:

Number of Syllables	Unchanged	Comparative	Superlative
1	soon	sooner	soonest
2 or more	early	earlier	earliest
	frequent	more frequent	most frequent
	comfortably	more comfortably	most comfortably

English also has some adverbs with irregular comparative and superlative forms:

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
badly	worse	worst
well	better	best
little	less	least
far	farther, further	farthest, furthest
much	more	most

To compare adverbs to a lower degree, we use *less* and *least*: *We rehearsed less often than the other actors. We rehearsed least often of all the actors.* Adverbs can modify verbs, participles, adjectives, other adverbs, and even whole sentences. Because they have so many functions and they tend to modify the words they are closest to, it can sometimes be tricky positioning them to convey the exact meaning we want. This is especially true of certain adverbs like *also*, *just*, and *only*. Sentences with more than one verb also can pose difficulty. Which verb does *rapidly* modify in this sentence: *His insistence that the new sales plan should be implemented rapidly increased the company's profits.* It is important to make sure that the sentences that precede one like this establish a context that leaves no room for ambiguity. It may be easier to rewrite the sentence to avoid ambiguity. Here are two possibilities for the previous example: *His insistence on implementing the new sales plan caused the company's profits to increase rapidly. Because he insisted on rapid implementation of the new sales plan, the company's profits increased.*

In initial position the adverb is usually followed by a comma: *Suddenly, the train started moving.* Many adverbs in initial position modify the entire sentence rather than the verb: *Fortunately, Higgins survived the ordeal. Admittedly, the city could use a new library. Frankly, the Bruins don't stand a chance in the playoffs.* Strangely enough, a few of these sentence modifiers, especially *hopefully*, have

been criticized by usage commentators for decades as grievous faults, while others like *thankfully* and *mercifully* have gone relatively unnoticed.

Auxiliary and Primary verbs

Auxiliary verbs, sometimes called *helping verbs*, help complete the form and meaning of main verbs. The auxiliary verbs include the *modal verbs*, the *primary verbs*, and a few special verbs like *dare* and *need*. The modal verbs are *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *must*, *shall*, *should*, *will* and *would*. They are called *modal* because they express the mood of verbs. The *primary verbs* are *be*, *do*, and *have*. The primary verbs have the distinction of being able to function either as main verbs or as auxiliaries.

The auxiliary verbs differ from main verbs in the following ways:

1. They do not take word endings to form participles or agree with their subject. Thus, we say *She may go to the store*, but never *She mays to the store*.
2. They come before *not* in negative clauses, and they do not use *do* to form the negative: *You might not like that*. A main verb uses *do* to form the negative and follows *not*: *You do not like that*.
3. They come before the subject in a question: *Can I have another apple?* *Would you like to go to the movies?* Main verbs must use *do* and follow the subject to form questions: *Do you want to go to the movies?*
4. They take the infinitive without *to*: *I will call you tomorrow*. A main verb that takes an infinitive always uses *to*: *I promise to call you tomorrow*.

When functioning as auxiliary verbs, the primary verbs serve the following functions. *Be* shows continuing action (*We are working on a new plan*) and forms the passive voice (*The shed was destroyed in the storm*.) *Have* is used to make perfect tenses – tenses that show completed action (*She has finally finished her book*. *Have you ever gone windsurfing?* *We had planned to go out tonight*.) *Do* is used to form negatives (*I do not wish to offend you*.) to ask questions (*Do you ever*

write to her?) to show emphasis (*I do want you to come to the party,*) and to stand for a full verb in certain other constructions (*She likes jazz more than he does.*)

In their capacity as auxiliaries, the primary verbs retain some features of main verbs. All the primary verbs can change form to agree in number with their subject. We say *I am going*. *He has eaten*, and *She does not travel much*. *Have* and *be* can form participles and still play an auxiliary role in a verb phrase: *Having finished in the garage, he went home*. *They did not give up even when being badly outplayed*. *Have* and *be* are used with participles and cannot take an infinitive without *to*.

As main verbs, *have* and *be* present certain exceptions to the criteria stated in rules two and four above. They can come before *not* in negative sentences (*We haven't any pickles*. *He is not there*.) They can also appear before the subject in questions (*Is anybody home?* *Have you no shame?*)

Dangling Modifiers

A modifier must never dangle unless you want your sentence to mangle. This rule of botched syntax should remind us always to be on the lookout for dangling modifiers – participles, infinitive phrases, clauses, and prepositional phrases that grammatically modify the noun or noun phrase next to them but logically refer to a noun or noun phrase that has been displaced to another part of the sentence or is absent altogether. These constructions are common in speech, where they often go without comment, and they can be found occasionally in writing. But they are distracting to the reader, and they can sometimes lead to unintended absurdities. Consider this example, penned by a well-respected writer and published by the *New York Times*:

After wading through a long, quasi-academic examination of the statistical links between intelligence, character, race and poverty, the reader's reward is a hoary lecture on the evils of the welfare state.

This sentence begins with a prepositional phrase that has a gerund for its object. As a verb form, the gerund cries out for a subject, and we must supply it mentally.

The sense requires *reader*, but the subject of the main clause is *reward*. We want the reader, not the reward, to do the wading. We can easily solve this conflict by keeping the modifying phrase as it stands and giving the main clause the proper subject:

After wading through a long, quasi-academic examination of the statistical links between intelligence, character, race and poverty, the reader is rewarded with a hoary lecture on the evils of the welfare state.

Here is another example, also taken from a famous writer in the *New York Times*. Describing the perils of being a newspaper columnist, the writer imagines interviewing his spouse as the first in a series of increasingly desperate measures to come up with material:

Once hooked on interviewing his wife, degradation proceeds swiftly.

Again we are asked to connect the modifying portion of the sentence with the grammatical subject of the main clause. But we can't. We want a person—in this case the husband—to be hooked, not an abstraction like degradation. Here the solution is to turn the phrase into a full clause with the subject specified:

Once the newspaper columnist is hooked on interviewing his wife, degradation proceeds swiftly.

Now we can witness the degradation with peace of mind.

A third example, also from the *New York Times*, puts the modifying element at the end of the sentence.

Mr. Clinton acknowledged the role played by the men who subdued the gunman *when he spoke at a dinner on Saturday night*.

In this case, the modifier is a full clause that can't be made fuller. (The clause would be elliptical if it read *when speaking at a dinner on Saturday night*.) It is clearly Mr. Clinton who spoke, not the gunman (who missed dinner, as he was in jail at the time.) The grammatical ambiguity caused by the misplaced modifier makes the sentence sound absurd. Here the answer is to reposition the clause so that it is closer to the noun it modifies:

When he spoke at a dinner on Saturday night, Mr. Clinton acknowledged the role played by the men who subdued the gunman.

Modifiers often dangle because the agent of the action is not the subject of the verb in the main clause. The chief culprit here is the passive voice, which banishes the agent of the action from being the subject. Consider these examples, one using an infinitive phrase and another using a prepositional phrase with a gerund.

To improve company morale, three things were recommended by the consultant.

In reviewing the company's policy, three areas of improvement were identified by the committee.

These sentences can easily be fixed by making the consultant and the committee the subjects.

To improve company morale, the consultant recommended.....

In reviewing the company's policy, the board identified.....

Sometimes, of course, what the opening phrase refers to is not an agent, as this sentence attests: *Baked, boiled, or fried, you can make potatoes a part of almost any meal.* Better to put the non-agents like potatoes where they belong: *Baked, boiled, or fried, potatoes make a welcome addition to almost any meal.*

One should also bear in mind that, while most danglers occur at the beginning of a sentence, a modifier can dangle just about anywhere. In fact, as we saw with Mr. Clinton, delayed danglers can be treacherously ambiguous. We should always remember that when we end a sentence with a modifying phrase that follows a comma, the phrase always refers to the subject of the sentence, not the closest noun. Thus, the sentence *A few guests lingered near her, mumbling pleasantries* can only mean that the guests mumbled the pleasantries. She may have well been silent.

Some participles, such as *concerning*, *considering*, *failing*, and *granting*, function as prepositions, and we can use them to introduce a sentence without fear of

dangling. A few participial phrases, such as *speaking of* and *judging by*, also work this way.

Concerning the proposal, there was little debate among the board members. Considering his reputation for honesty, his arrest came as a shock. Speaking of exceptional performances, did you see her latest movie?

Double negative

Double negative equals a positive: It is a truism of traditional grammar that double negatives combine to form an affirmative. A sentence like *He cannot do nothing* is sometimes interpreted as an affirmative statement meaning “He must do something” unless we are prompted to view it as dialect or nonstandard speech. Sometimes readers also assign an affirmative meaning to constructions that yoke *not* with an adjective or adverb that begins with a negative prefix such as *in-* or *un-*, as in *a not infrequent visitor* or *a not unjust decision*. In these expressions the double negative conveys a weaker affirmative than would be conveyed by the positive adjective or adverb by itself. Thus *a not infrequent visitor* seems likely to visit less frequently than *a frequent visitor*.

Double negative equals a negative: “*You ain’t heard nothin’ yet*,” said Al Jolson in 1927 in *The Jazz Singer*, the first talking motion picture. He meant, of course, “You haven’t heard anything yet.” Some 60 years later President Reagan taunted his political opponents by saying “*You ain’t seen nothin’ yet*.” These famous examples of double negatives that reinforce (rather than nullify) a negative meaning show clearly that this construction is alive and well in spoken English. In fact, multiple negatives have been used to convey negative meaning in English since the tenth century, and throughout most of this history, this form of the double negative was wholly acceptable. Thus Chaucer in *The Canterbury Tales* could say of the Friar, “*Ther nas no man nowher so vertuous*,” meaning “There was no man so virtuous anywhere,” and Shakespeare could allow Viola in *Twelfth Night* to say of her heart, “*Nor never none/ Shall mistress of it be, save I alone*,” by which she meant that no one except herself would ever be mistress of her heart.

Double negative equals trouble: But in spite of this noble history, grammarians since the Renaissance have objected to this form of negative reinforcement employing the double negative. In their eagerness to make English conform to formal logic, they conceived and promulgated the notion that two negatives destroy one another and make a positive. This view was taken up by English teachers and has since become sanctioned as a convention of Standard English. Now if you use a double negative to mean “no” in formal speaking or writing, you run the risk of being considered an ignoramus. It’s probably best to look smart and use the double negative only when you want to imitate speech or strike a folksy note.

Double negative with minimizing adverbs: The ban on multiple negatives also applies to the combination of negatives with adverbs such as *barely*, *hardly*, and *scarcely*. It is therefore incorrect to say *I couldn't hardly do it* or *The car scarcely needs no oil*. These adverbs have a minimizing effect on the verb. They mean something like “almost not at all.” They resemble negative adverbs such as *not* and *never* in that they are used with *any*, *anybody*, and similar words rather than *none*, *nobody*, and other negatives. Thus we say *You barely have any time left*, just as we would say *You don't have any time left*, but we would not say *You barely have no time left*, since it would be an unacceptable double negative.

Exceptions to the rule: The ban on using double negatives to convey emphasis does not apply when the second negative appears in a separate phrase or clause, as in *I will not surrender, not today, not ever* or *He does not seek money, no more than he seeks fame*. Commas must be used to separate the negative phrases in these examples. Thus the sentence *He does not seek money no more than he seeks fame* is unacceptable, whereas the equivalent sentence with *any* is perfectly acceptable and requires no comma: *He does not seek money any more than he seeks fame*.

Double Passive: We sometimes find it desirable to conjoin a passive verb form with a passive infinitive, as in *The building is scheduled to be demolished next*

week and *The piece was originally intended to be played on the harpsichord.* These sentences are perfectly acceptable. But it's easy for things to go wrong in these double passive constructions. They sometimes end in ambiguity: *An independent review of the proposal was requested to be made by the committee.* In this sentence, is the committee making the request or doing the review? What is worse, double passives often sound ungrammatical, as this example shows: *The fall in the value of the Yen was attempted to be stopped by the Central Bank.*

How can we tell an acceptable double passive from an unacceptable one? If we can change the first verb into an active one, making the original subject its object, while keeping the passive infinitive, the original sentence is acceptable. Thus we can say *The city has scheduled the building to be demolished next week* and *The composer originally intended the piece to be played on the harpsichord.* But we cannot make similar changes in the other sentence. We cannot say *The Central Bank attempted the fall in the value of the Yen to be stopped.*

Gerunds

Gerunds are verb forms ending in *-ing* that act as nouns. They can be the subject of a sentence (*Skiing is her favorite sport*), the object of a verb (*She enjoys skiing*), or the object of a preposition (*She devoted her free time to skiing*.) Gerunds can be modified like nouns (*That book makes for difficult reading*.) But they can also act like verbs in that they can take an object (*Convincing him was never easy*) and be modified by an adverb (*Walking daily can improve your health*.)

Gerund and possessives (fused participle): Some scholars insist that when a gerund is preceded by a noun or pronoun, the noun or pronoun must be in the possessive case. Accordingly, it is correct to say *I can understand his wanting to go*, but incorrect to say *I can understand him wanting to go*. But the construction without the possessive, sometimes called the *fused participle*, has been used by respected writers for 300 years and is perfectly idiomatic. Moreover, there is often no way to “fix” the construction by inserting the possessive. This is often the case

with common nouns. Thus we can say *We have had very few instances of luggage being lost*, but not ... *of luggage's being lost*.

Sometimes syntax makes using the possessive impossible. Consider the sentence *What she objects to is men making more money than women for the same work*. Changing *men making* to *men's making* not only sounds awkward, but it requires *women's* at the other end to keep the sentence parallel, and *women's* simply does not work.

However, when the construction is more complicated so that a word or phrase intervenes between the noun and the gerund, the construction is less acceptable. For example the sentence *I can understand him not wanting to go*, where the negative *not* intervenes between the pronoun and the gerund. Acceptance level drops even further when the syntax gets more complicated. The sentence *Imagine a child with an ear infection who cannot get penicillin losing his hearing*, where both a phrase and a clause intervene between the noun *child* and the gerund *losing*. Only few people find this sentence acceptable that too in informal contexts.

Sometimes nouns ending in -s can be confused with a singular noun in the possessive. Thus *I don't approve of your friend's going there* indicates one friend is going, and *I don't approve of your friends going there* indicates that more than one friend is going.

Prepositions

Preposition ending a sentence. It was John Dryden, the 17th-century poet and dramatist, who first promulgated the doctrine that a preposition may not be used at the end a sentence.⁵ Grammarians in the 18th century refined the doctrine, and the rule has since become one of the most venerated maxims of schoolroom grammar. But sentences ending with prepositions can be found in the works of most of the great writers since the Renaissance. In fact, English syntax not only allows but sometimes even requires final placement of the preposition, as in *We have much to be thankful for* or *That depends on what you believe in*. Efforts to rewrite such sentences to place the preposition elsewhere can have comical results, as Winston

Churchill demonstrated when he objected to the doctrine by saying “*This is the sort of English up with which I cannot put.*”

Even sticklers for the traditional rule can have no grounds for criticizing sentences such as *I don't know where she will end up* or *It's the most curious book I've ever run across*; in these examples, *up* and *across* are adverbs, not prepositions. We can be sure of this because it is impossible to transform these examples into sentences with prepositional phrases. It is simply not grammatical English to say *I don't know up where she will end* and *It's the most curious book across which I have ever run*.

Pronouns

A pronoun must agree with its antecedent in person, number, and gender. An antecedent, of course, is a noun or pronoun referred to by a pronoun. Usually an antecedent comes before its pronoun (as in *Dave played his guitar this morning*) but sometimes the pronoun anticipates the antecedent (as in *Although he knew he would be late, Mr. Stanton did not rush to get ready.*)

The problems involving agreement of person are less inherent to the pronouns themselves than created by shifts in point of view. Sometimes it is difficult to stick to the same person when using generic pronouns, such as *one* and *you*.

Problems in number agreement are often initiated by indefinite pronouns such as *anyone*, *everybody*, and *somebody*. These problems often involve the related issue of gender. Which pronoun should you use in a sentence such as *Everyone thinks (he is/she is/they are) entitled to a raise this year?* Using the plural pronoun in such constructions avoids the problem of gender bias but violates the rule of number agreement since indefinite pronouns like *everyone* are grammatically singular. Similar problems arise in sentences with singular antecedents of undetermined gender, such as *A good judge should never indulge (his/her/their) personal prejudices*. Perhaps the easiest solution here is to write in the plural: *Good judges should never indulge their personal prejudices*.

Grammatical Agreement

A verb must agree with its subject in person and number. Singular subjects take singular verbs, and plural subjects take plural verbs.

One of the nice things about English is that its verbs do not change much to agree with a subject in number. In fact, for almost all verbs, there is only one change, adding *-s* or *-es* for third person singular, present tense. We say *He goes*, *She tries*, and *It matters*. All other persons require no changes to the verb. We say *I play*, *You play*, *We play*, and *They play*. The past tense requires its own changes to the verb, but (except for the verb *be*) these do not involve number. Thus we say *He walked* and *I ran*, *They walked* and *we ran*, and so on.

The modal auxiliaries are an exception to the agreement rule. They do not change to show number. We say *I can swim*, *He can swim*, *They can swim*, and so on. The primary verb *be* is a unique case in that it has many different forms—*am*, *are*, *is*, *was*, *were*—depending on the person, number, and tense of a specific use.

Notional Agreement

In addition to grammatical agreement, there is another agreement, agreement in meaning, or notional agreement. Usually grammatical agreement and notional agreement coincide. In the sentence *He laughs*, both are singular. In the sentence *We laugh*, both are plural. But in some sentences a subject can have a singular form and a plural meaning. Thus in the sentence *Her family are all avid skiers*, the noun *family* is singular in form but plural in meaning, and the verb is plural to agree with the meaning. In other words, there is notional agreement, but not grammatical agreement, between the subject and the verb. In the sentence *Everyone has gone to the movies*, the situation is reversed. The subject *everyone* is plural in meaning and singular in form, but the verb agrees in number with the form of its grammatical subject. There is grammatical agreement but not notional agreement.

Similarly, there are some nouns like *mumps* and *news* that are plural in form but take a singular verb: *The mumps was once a common childhood disease*. Amounts

often take a singular verb: *Ten thousand bucks is a lot of money*. Here again we have notional, but not grammatical agreement-the ten thousand bucks is considered a single quantity, and it gets a singular verb.

There are a number of words in English that can take a singular or plural verb depending on how they are used. Among these are collective nouns, pronouns such as *any* and *none*, and many nouns ending in *-ics*, such as *politics*.

Agreement by Proximity

Certain grammatical constructions provide further complications. Sometimes the noun that is adjacent to the verb can exert more influence than the noun that is the grammatical subject. Selecting a verb in a sentence like *A variety of styles has been/have been in vogue for the last year* can be tricky. The traditional rules require *has been*, but the plural sense of the noun phrase presses for *have been*.

Sometimes syntax itself makes it impossible to follow the agreement rule. In a sentence like *Either John or his brothers are bringing the dessert*, the verb can't agree with both parts of the subject. Some people believe that the verb should agree with the closer of the two subjects. This is called *agreement by proximity*.

Compound Subjects

In Modern English, a compound subject connected by *and* normally takes a plural verb: *Rebecca and Martha play in the same band. The house and the barn are on the same property. Their innovative idea, persistence, and careful research have finally paid off*. When a subject is followed by a conjoining prepositional phrase such as *as well as*, *in addition to*, or *with*, the verb should be singular: *Jesse as well as Luke likes jazz. The old school along with the playground is up for sale*.

Sometimes compound subjects are governed by a sense of unity and by notional agreement take a singular verb: *My name and address is printed on the box. His colleague and friend (one person) deserves equal credit*. This sense of unity is not simply a stylistic flourish. Using a singular or plural verb changes the meaning of the sentence. *Eating garlic and drinking red wine sometimes gives me a headache* means that the combination of garlic and red wine can cause a headache. With a

plural verb (*give*), the sentence implies that garlic and red wine act separately; either can bring a headache.

Mood: A *mood* is a property of verbs that indicates the attitude of the speaker about the factuality or likelihood of what is expressed. The term mood is also applied to the sets of verb forms that convey this attitude. English has three moods. The *indicative mood*, which is by far the most common, is used to make statements. The sentences *Wilson enjoys music* and *The dog ran across the street* are in the indicative mood. The *imperative mood* is used to give direct commands, such as *Get out of here!* or *Stop shouting!* The *subjunctive mood* is used to indicate doubt or unlikelihood, as *were* in *If she were here, we wouldn't be in this fix*. The subjunctive has very limited use in English, having been largely supplanted by modal auxiliaries like *may* and *might*. Nonetheless, the subjunctive still has its uses and its usage problems.

Subjunctive Mood:

If she were coming, she would be here by now. I insist that the chairman resign! Their main demand was that the lawsuit be dropped. These sentences all contain verbs in the subjunctive mood, which is used chiefly to express the speaker's attitude about the likelihood or factuality of a given situation. If the verbs were in the indicative mood, we would expect *she was coming* in the first sentence, *the chairman resigns* in the second, and *the lawsuit is dropped* in the third.

English has had a subjunctive mood since Old English times, but most of the functions of the old subjunctive have been taken over by auxiliary verbs like *may* and *should*, and the subjunctive survives only in very limited situations. It has a present and past form. The present form is identical to the base form of the verb, so we only notice it in the third person singular, which has no final *-s*, and in the case of the verb *be*, which has the form *be* instead of *am*, *is*, and *are*. The past subjunctive is identical with the past tense except in the case of the verb *be*, which uses *were* for all persons: *If I were rich ...*, *If he were rich ...*, *If they were rich...*

The present subjunctive is most familiar to us in formulaic expressions such as *God help him*, *be that as it may*, *come what may*, and *suffice it to say*. It also occurs in *that* clauses used to state commands or to express intentions or necessity.

We insist that he do the job properly.

The committee proposes that she be appointed treasurer immediately.

Other functions include use in some conditional clauses that make concessions or express purpose. In these cases the subjunctive carries a formal tone:

Whether he be opposed to the plan not, we must seek his opinion.

Even though he be opposed to the plan, we must try to implement it.

They are rewriting the proposal so that it not contradict new zoning laws.

The subjunctive is not required in such sentences, however, and we can use indicative forms if we prefer (*whether he is opposed ...*)

The past subjunctive is sometimes called the *were* subjunctive, since *were* is the only subjunctive form that is distinct from the indicative past tense. It appears chiefly in *if* clauses and in a few other constructions expressing hypothetical conditions.

If he were sorry, he'd have apologized by now.

I wish she weren't going away.

She's already acting as if she were going to be promoted.

Suppose she were to resign, what would you do then?

'if' Clauses – the Traditional rules: According to traditional rules, we use the subjunctive to describe an occurrence that we have presupposed to be contrary to fact: *if I were ten years younger*, *if America were still a British Colony*. The verb in the main clause of these sentences must then contain the verb *would* or (less frequently) *should*: *If I were ten years younger, I would consider entering the marathon*. *If America were still a British colony, we would all be drinking tea in the afternoon*. When the situation described by the *if* clause is not presupposed to be false, however, that clause must contain an indicative verb. The form of verb in

the main clause will depend on your intended meaning: *If Hamlet was really written by Marlowe, as many have argued, then we have underestimated Marlowe's genius. If Kevin was out all day, then it makes sense that he couldn't answer the phone.*

We have to remember that just because the modal verb *would* appears in the main clause, this doesn't mean that the verb in the *if* clause must be in the subjunctive if the content of that clause is not presupposed to be false: *If I was (not were) to accept their offer—which I'm still considering—I would have to start the new job on May 2. He would always call her from the office if he was (not were) going to be late for dinner.*

Another traditional rule states that we are not supposed to use the subjunctive following verbs such as *ask* or *wonder* in *if* clauses that express indirect questions, even if the content of the question is presumed to be contrary to fact: *We wondered if dinner was (not were) included in the room price. Some of the people we met even asked us if California was (not were) an island.*

'if clauses – the reality: In practice, of course, many people ignore the rules. In fact, over the last 200 years even well-respected writers have tended to use the indicative *was* where the traditional rule would require the subjunctive *were*. A usage such as *If I was the only boy in the world* may break the rules, but it sounds perfectly natural.

Subjunctive after wish: Yet another traditional rule requires us to use *were* rather than *was* in a contrary-to-fact statement that follows the verb *wish*: *I wish I were (not was) lighter on my feet.* Many writers continue to insist on this rule, but the indicative *was* in such clauses can be found in the works of many well-known writers.

Using would have for had. In spoken English, there is a growing tendency to use *would have* in place of the subjunctive *had* in contrary-to-fact clauses, such as *If she would have (instead of if she had) only listened to me, this would never have happened.* But this usage is still widely considered an error in writing.

Using didn't for hadn't: In speech people often substitute *didn't* for the subjunctive *hadn't* in *if* clauses, such as *If I didn't have (instead of if I hadn't had) my seatbelt on, I would be dead*. This usage is also considered nonstandard.

Using hadn't have: Another subjunctive form that is sometimes used in speech but is usually edited out of Standard English is the intrusive *have* occurring in negative constructions, as in *We would have been in real trouble if it hadn't have been for you*. In speech this *have* is always reduced, as *hadn't a'*. The *hadn't have* construction often appears in conjunction with the verb *happen*, as in *He would have been in real trouble if I hadn't have happened to be there* where standard practice requires *if I hadn't been there*.

2.4 American and British English Differences

American English (AmE) is the form of English used in the United States (American English does not include Canadian English.)

British English (BrE) is the form of English used in the United Kingdom and the rest of the British Isles. It includes all English dialects used within the British Isles.

American English in its written form is standardized across the U.S. (and in schools abroad specializing in American English.) Though not devoid of regional variations, particularly in pronunciation and vernacular vocabulary, American speech is somewhat uniform throughout the country, largely due to the influence of mass communication and geographical and social mobility in the United States. After the American Civil War, the settlement of the western territories by migrants from the Eastern U.S. led to dialect mixing and leveling, so that regional dialects are most strongly differentiated along the Eastern seaboard. The *General American* accent and dialect (sometimes called 'Standard Midwestern',) often used by newscasters, is traditionally regarded as the unofficial standard for American English.

British English has a reasonable degree of uniformity in its formal written form, which, as taught in schools, is largely the same as in the rest of the English-

speaking world (except North America.) On the other hand, the forms of spoken English – dialects, accents and vocabulary – used across the British Isles vary considerably more than in most other English-speaking areas of the world, even more so than in the United States, due to a much longer history of dialect development in the English speaking areas of Great Britain and Ireland. Dialects and accents vary, not only between England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales (which constitute the United Kingdom,) plus the Republic of Ireland, but also within these individual countries. *Received Pronunciation (RP)* (also referred to as *BBC English* or *Queen's English*) has traditionally been regarded as 'proper English' – “the educated spoken English of south-east England.” The BBC and other broadcasters now intentionally use a mix of presenters with a variety of British accents and dialects, and the concept of 'proper English' is now far less prevalent.

2.4.1 Historical Background

The English language was first introduced to the America by British colonization, beginning in the late 16th century. Similarly, the language spread to numerous other parts of the world as a result of British colonization elsewhere and the spread of the former British Empire, which, by 1921, held sway over a population of about 470–570 million people: approximately a quarter of the world's population. Over the past 400 years, the form of the language used in the America – more especially in the United States – and that used in the United Kingdom and the rest of the British Isles have diverged in many ways, leading to the dialects now commonly referred to as American English and British English. Differences between the two include pronunciation, grammar, lexis, spelling, punctuation, idioms, formatting of dates and numbers, and so on, with some words having completely different meanings between the two dialects or even being unknown or not used in one of the dialects. One particular contribution towards formalizing these differences came from Noah Webster, who wrote the first American

dictionary (published 1828) with the intention of showing that the United States spoke a different dialect from Britain.

This divergence between American English and British English once caused George Bernard Shaw to say that the United States and United Kingdom are "two countries divided by a common language"; Oscar Wilde wrote "we have really everything in common with America nowadays, except, of course, the language" (*The Canterville Ghost*, 1888.)⁶ Henry Sweet predicted in 1877 that within a century, American English, Australian English and British English would be mutually unintelligible. It may be the case that increased world-wide communication through radio, television, the Internet, and globalization has reduced the tendency to regional variation. This can result either in some variations becoming extinct (as, for instance, *truck* has been gradually replacing *lorry* in much of the world) or in the acceptance of wide variations as "perfectly good English" everywhere. Often at the core of the dialect though, the idiosyncrasies remain.

Nevertheless, it remains the case that although spoken American and British English are generally mutually intelligible, there are enough differences to cause occasional misunderstandings or at times embarrassment – for example, some words that are quite innocent in one dialect may be considered vulgar in the other.

2.4.2 Differences in Pronunciation

This section focuses on specific phonemes. Noticeable pronunciation differences between American English and British English are:

- pronunciation of o
- the 'or' vowel [ɔ]
- pronunciation of 'a' (US has [æ], [ɑ], not [ɒ]; UK has [æ], [ɑ:], and [ɒ])
- American vowels becoming more neutral
- vowel shifts
- d'd t's in American; glottal stops in British

- rhotic 'r' in American (pronouncing the r in park), non-rhotic 'r' in British (or not)
- 'yoo' words losing the y in American (tune: tyoon → toon)
- particular words
- stress & reductions
- other random anomalies

The differences discussed really only apply to 'General American' (most of the west and heartland) and RP ('Received Pronunciation',) which is close to 'BBC English' - the kind spoken by British newscasters. They are not at all universal. For instance, although American is rhotic and English is non-rhotic, there are non-rhotic areas in America and much of Britain is rhotic. There is a brief description of the cardinal vowel system appended to this section, to provide an additional perspective on the vowel sounds.

Pronunciation of o:

In Britain, the 'o' vowel, [ɒ], in words like *dog* and *pot* is pronounced with rounded lips and the tongue back in the mouth. Americans do not have this vowel, instead pronouncing the same words using the 'ah' vowel, [a], with the lips unrounded and the tongue back but more relaxed. This is the same vowel in *card* or *bard*. In some cases in the US the 'o' is pronounced using the 'or' vowel in words like *long* (Central East Coast) and *horrid* (especially in the western US.)

The 'plummy' quality of some RP speakers is probably due to an exaggeration of this 'o' vowel, and other vowels, by pushing the tongue as far back as possible, accomplished by speaking whilst imagining a mouth full of plums.

The 'or' vowel [ɔ] (or the 'aw' vowel):

This is the vowel in *oar*, *law*, *Borg*, *Bork*, *pork* and so on.

Many 'or' words in Britain such as *paw*, *saw*, *talk*, *all*, *bought*, *launch*, *taught*, *port* are pronounced in America using the 'ah' vowel, [a]. I've even heard

'awesome possum' rhyme perfectly [asəm pasəm.] But many words in American retain the 'or' vowel, such as *poor*, such that the British homophones *poor paw* are pronounced differently in American. In the Central US East Coast the 'or' vowel occurs in most of the same words as British, but it is slightly shorter, [ɔ] rather than [ɔ:]. In American, 'dawg', as written in cartoons and such, uses the 'or' vowel, and the spelling emphasizes the pronunciation as unusual. Oddly enough, *quark*, correctly pronounced to rhyme with *quart* by most Americans is often pronounced to rhyme with *dark* by most British people.

Pronunciation of a:

The British have the 'a' vowel, [æ] (cat, hat) and the 'ah' vowel [ɑ], as do Americans, but often in different places. Trudgill notes that words with 'a' followed by [f] [θ] [s] [nt] [ns] [ntʃ] [nd] [mp] (*laugh, path, grass, plant, dance, branch, demand, sample*) have [æ] in American and [ɑ:] in southern British. Northern British bends a's pretty flat in general compared to Southern English, and is generally the same as American, but there are exceptions like *banana, can't, half*, where the a is more like in the south.

In Britain, words like *what* are pronounced using the same vowel [ɒ as in *dog*, above, and so is phonetically spelled *wot* rather than *wat*. Perhaps this is why *baloney* (nonsense) is so spelled in American dictionaries, but primarily as *boloney* in some British ones.

It should be noted that in America the 'ah' vowel (*father, bard, calm*) is usually shorter and sometimes sounds a little closer to the 'u' vowel in *cup*. So the long, firm [ɑ:] in Britain really stands out in *bath* and *dance* where Americans have the short [æ] mentioned above. Even this southern English accent, with the long 'a' [ɑ:] in words like *father* and *bath*, is not consistent.

Pronunciation can be used to distinguish social class, and social status. In Britain, where class structure is strong, people are more acute to vowel enunciation and, often unconsciously, preserve many pronunciations that would otherwise be

unnecessary. Pronunciation of vowels also distinguishes meaning in words, but sometimes the pronunciation is unnecessary. Thus, in American, where nonessentials are more readily dropped, vowels are not always as sharp as in Britain. You get the impression that vowels are closer to neutral (schwa.) It might be that in Britain vowels have become sharper (more distinct or enunciated) over the last few hundred years.

The main example of vowels becoming more neutral in American is in words with some vowel in front of an [r] that is also followed by another syllable, such as *marry* or *hurry*.

[æ] in *marry* → [ɛ] in *merry* → [ə]

[ei] in *Mary* → [ɛ] in *merry* → [ə]

[ɪ] in *mirror* and [i:] in *nearer*

[ʌ] in *hurry* → [ə] in *furry*

[ɜ:] in *furry* → [ə] in *furry*

Trudgill's examples give [ei] and [ɛ] merging so that *Mary* and *merry* are pronounced identically, and [æ] and [ɛ] merging so that *marry* and *merry* sound identical. In cases where these both occur, *marry merry Mary* sounds like *merry merry merry*. Since these words are unambiguous in context, it's easy for the [ɛ] to approach schwa [ə]. And where speakers have [æ] or [ei] approaching [ɛ] they all might approach schwa [ə].

The [ɜ:] in *furry* is shorter in the US [ɜ], which is closer to [ə], and in some places the [ʌ] in *hurry* goes towards [ɜ] (or even [ə]) such that *hurry* and *furry* are perfect rhymes.

Vowel Shifts

Long vowels in Middle English were pronounced as they were in Latin but, during the 15th and 16th centuries, they changed to what we have in general today. This change is called the Great Vowel Shift. In major cities around the Great Lakes area, linguists have noted since the 1970s what they call the Northern

Cities Chain Shift. On the West Coast you hear many vowel shifts, notably in younger people, and sometimes words are spelled to match (sense → since, pen → pin).

like → lake

cook → kick

pen → pin

petting (pedding) → pædding

thank → think

hot (haht) → hat

jon (jahn) → jen

money → many

racket → rocket (rahket)

D'd t's in American; glottal stops in British:

In many areas the American 't', when not the initial consonant in a word, is pronounced closer to a 'd', and in some cases can disappear altogether. Thus *latter* and *butter* sounds more like *ladder* and *budder*, and words like *twenty* and *dentist* can sound like *twenny* and *Dennis*.

Why do Americans pronounce t as d? Perhaps because to pronounce the frequent 'r's at the end of words ending in '-er' it is easier to say '-der' than '-ter.'

In Britain, 't' is generally pronounced like as 't', but there are areas where the glottal stop is very well known. This is the sound in between the two vowels in *uh-oh*, or the initial consonant in *honest*. In these two examples, and others like them, the glottal stop occurs as much in America as in Britain. But the glottal stop that replaces the 't' in the Cockney and Glasgow dialects is much stronger; imagine bracing for a punch in the belly when you make the sound. Words like *butter* become [bʌʔə].

Americans sometimes replace the 'd' in a British word with a 't', as if hypercorrecting 'd' back into the more 'correct' 't'. This confusion is borne out by Americans trying to imitate a Cockney accent by putting a glottal stop in place of 'd' instead of 't' (*bloody* [blʌʔɪ]), which sounds quite odd to an English person.

In Britain, the glottal stop occurs in informal speech in many areas, although with Estuary English, perhaps not informal anymore. The association of the glottal stop with lower classes or Cockneys typically also includes dropping of 'h's (thus *hooter* becomes [ooʔə]), and dropping the g in -ing words (/woʔ θɪ el ə yə dooin/ "what the hell are you doing?")

Rhotic r in American; non-rhotic r in British:

Rhotic speakers will pronounce the r in *barn*, *park*, *cart*, *fart*, whereas non-rhotic speakers won't, making no distinction between *barn* and (*auto*) *bahn*. Most of America is rhotic, with the notable exception of the Boston area and New York City. SE Britain is apparently the source of non-rhotic. England is non-rhotic, apart from the SW and some ever-diminishing northern areas. Scotland and Ireland are rhotic.

In Britain, the non-rhotic accent gives rise to linking 'r's, where an otherwise unpronounced 'r', in 'clear', is pronounced if followed by a vowel, 'clear away.' An intrusive 'r' is an 'r' added in such a situation where none actually exists, so 'law and order' becomes 'law ran order'. In some cases, there is even hypercorrection, such as adding an 'r' (Louisa → Louiser,) especially when a non-rhotic person moves to a rhotic area.

In contrast, in the North and Scotland, r's roll stronger. Even d's can be r'd. He has been called a /bluhreeiree? / (bloody idiot) a few times.

'Yoo' words losing the y in American (tune: tyoon → toon)

There are many less words in American that pronounce a 'y' in front of a 'u' than in British (as in *mule*, *mute*.) Most American words don't: *assume*, *new*, *nude*, *tune*, *student*, *duke*, *due*. In England most of these words are pronounced with a

‘y’ in front of the ‘u’. Amongst older speakers, this is true for words like *suit* and *lute*, and sometimes even in words like *Susan* and *super*.

The natural (SE English) way of saying *tune*, *tuna*, *Tuesday*, *sand dune* is ‘choon, choona, choosday, san June’, and that ‘tyoon, tyoona, tyoosday, sand dyoon’ sounds a little formal. Americans generally say ‘toon, toona, toosday, san doon.’ This also applies to words like *perpetual* and *situation*.

Particular words

Although there are relatively few words pronounced completely differently, many are well known. This list shows some of these, but the examples are not restrictive – *leisure* is pronounced both *leezhure* and *lezhure* in the US, but *leezhure* is prevalent.

word	US	UK
<i>aluminium</i>	aluminum	aluminium
<i>apricot</i>	a-pricot	ay-pricot
<i>β</i>	bayda	beeta
<i>charade</i>	char-ay-d	char-ah-d
<i>cordial</i>	corjul	cordee-al
<i>fillet</i>	filay	filit
<i>herb</i>	’erb	herb
<i>leisure</i>	leezhure	lezhure
<i>lever</i>	l-e-ver	leever
<i>privacy</i>	pry-vacy	priv-acy
<i>route</i>	rout	root
<i>schedule</i>	skedule	shedule
<i>semi</i>	sem-eye	sem-ee
<i>strychnine</i>	strich-9	strich-neen
<i>θ</i>	thayta	theeta
<i>tomato</i>	tom-ay-do	tom-ah-to
<i>vase</i>	vayz	vahz
<i>vitamin</i>	vie-tamin	vit-amin

Stress and Reductions

Stress differences, although minor, stand out. Britons stress the first vowel in *ballet*, *café* (and other borrowed French words), Americans the second, but they often stress the first vowel in *cigarette*, *police*, and *research*. There are many place names in Britain that also occur in the US, especially on the eastern seaboard. British towns ending in -ham, -wich, -cester, -mouth are fully pronounced in America but reduced in Britain to -[əm] -[ɪdʒ], -[stə], -[məθ] (e.g. *Birmingham*, *Norwich*, *Gloucester*, *Portsmouth*). Similar reductions are found in British personal names, for instance *Raleigh* is *raylee* in the US but *ralee* in Britain.

Other random anomalies:

- Occasionally Americans add a 't' to *cross* and *across*, and this occasionally shows up in spelling (*accrossed*, *acrost*.)
- Some places in the Midwest are famous for pronouncing *wash* 'warsh', as well as *fish*, *dish*, as 'feesh', 'deesh.'

There are other differences, such as American, like southern Irish, being more nasally – many speakers push the sounds through the nose, to some extent. But in all, differences between American and British pronunciation of English can be put into three classes:

Firstly there are many miscellaneous words where one or more syllables are simply different. For instance: *herb* - Americans don't pronounce the h, Britons do; Americans render *tomato* as *tomayto* (or *tomaydo*) rather than the British *tomahto*; both even spell *aluminum/aluminium* differently, as reflected in pronunciation. The list above, under particular words, is in this class.

Then there are classes of words where the vowel used is different. For instance Americans rhyme *pa paw caw*, whereas Britons rhyme *poor paw caw*, and even *caws cause Coors*. In some cases, patterns can be discerned, such as particular

vowels following certain kinds of consonants. Most of the differences discussed above fall into this class.

And finally there are vowels and perhaps consonants that are peculiar to each. The British 'o' vowel [ɒ] in *dog*, is not found in America. Perhaps the distinction between schwa [ə] and the 'er' vowel [ɜ], found in British *bird* and *furry*, is lost in America. The British glottal stop is hardly realized in America.

2.4.3 Differences in Grammar

Singular and plural for nouns

In BrE, singular nouns that describe multiple people are often treated as plural, particularly where one is concerned with the people constituting the team, rather than with the team as an entity. The singular form is usually used in American. For example, British "the team are worried"; American "the team is worried." Americans may use the plural form when the individual membership is clear, for example, "the team take their seats" (not "the team takes its seat(s)"), although it is almost always rephrased to avoid the singular/plural decision, as in "the team members take their seats." The difference occurs for all collective nouns, both general terms such as *team* and *company* and proper nouns (for example, where a place name is used to refer to a sports team.) Proper nouns which are plural in form take a plural verb in both AmE and BrE. Examples:

- BrE: "The Clash are a well-known band." AmE: "The Clash is a well-known band." Both: "The Beatles are a well-known band."
- BrE: "Pittsburgh are the champions." AmE: "Pittsburgh is the champion." Both: "The Steelers are the champions."

Use of the singular verb is not wrong in such instances in BrE. At least one authority (*E. Gowers, The Complete Plain Words, 1986*) indicates that either is acceptable (provided that usage is not mixed or inconsistent within the same document), and that (as implied above) the choice of verb form may be chosen according to whether the emphasis is on the body as a whole or on the individual

members (for example, "A committee *was* appointed ...; but "the committee *were* unable to agree")⁷

Use of tenses

BrE uses the present perfect tense to talk about an event in the recent past and with the words *already*, *just* and *yet*. In American usage, these meanings can be expressed with the present perfect (to express a fact) or the simple past (to imply an expectation.) This American style has become widespread only in the past 20 to 30 years; the "British" style is still in common use as well.

"Have you done your homework yet?" / "Did you do your homework yet?"

"I've just got home." / "I just got home."

"I've already eaten." / "I already ate."

BrE, most visibly in advertising slogans and headlines such as "Cable broadband just got faster".)

Similarly, the pluperfect is occasionally replaced by the preterit in the U.S.; this is generally regarded as sloppy usage by those Americans who consider themselves careful users of the language.

In BrE, *have got* or *have* can be used for possession and *have got to* and *have to* can be used for the modal of necessity. The forms which include *got* are usually used in informal contexts and the forms without *got* in more formal contexts. In American speech the form without *got* is used more than in the UK. American also informally uses *got* as a verb for these meanings, *for example*, "I got two cars," "I got to go"; but these are nonstandard and will be considered sloppy usage by many American speakers.

The subjunctive mood is more common in AmE in expressions such as: "They suggested that he apply for the job." BrE would have "They suggested that he should apply for the job" (or even "They suggested that he applied for the job," although this last sentence can be ambiguous.) However, the British usage

("should apply") is also heard in the United States, but is often regarded as erroneous in writing.

Verb morphology

The past tense and past participle of the verbs *learn*, *spoil*, *spell* (only in the word-related sense,) *burn*, *dream*, *smell*, *spill*, *leap*, and others, can be either irregular (*learnt*, *spoilt*, etc.) or regular (*learned*, *spoiled*, etc.) BrE allow both irregular and regular forms, but the irregular forms tend to be used more often by the British (especially by speakers using Received Pronunciation,) and in some cases (*learnt*, *smelt*, *leapt*) there is still a strong tendency to use them; in other cases (for example, *dreamed*), in current British usage, the regular form is more common. The forms with *-ed* are preferred by many careful writers of English since they are regular verbs. In AmE, the irregular forms are never or hardly ever used (except for *leapt*, *dreamt*, and *smelt*.)

Nonetheless, as with the *-tre* words, the *t* endings are often found in older American texts. However, usage may vary when the past participles are actually adjectives, as in *burnt toast*. Finally, the past tense and past participle of *dwelt* and *kneel* are more commonly *dwelt* and *knelt* on both sides of the Atlantic, although *dwelled* and *kneeled* are widely used in the U.S. (but not in the UK)

Lit as the past tense of *light* is more common than *lighted* in the UK; the regular form enjoys more use in the U.S., although is somewhat less common than *lit*. By contrast, *fit* as the past tense of *fit* is much more used in American than BrE, which generally favors *fitted*.

The past participle *gotten* is rarely used in modern BrE (although it is used in some dialects,) which generally uses *got*, except in old expressions such as *ill-gotten gains*. Furthermore, according to the Compact Oxford English Dictionary, "The form *gotten* is not used in BrE but is very common in North AmE, though even there it is often regarded as non-standard." In North America, most people who use *gotten* also use *got*, with *gotten* emphasizing the action of acquiring, and

got tending to indicate simple possession (for example, *Have you gotten it?* versus *Have you got it?*) Interestingly, AmE, but not BrE, has *forgot* as a less common alternative to *forgotten* for the past participle of *forget*.

The past participle *proven* is frequently used in AmE, although some speakers avoid it, and it remains *proved* in BrE (except in adjectival use; and usage is different in Scots law.)

AmE further allows other irregular verbs, such as *dive* (*dove*) or *sneak* (*snuck*), and often mixes the preterit and past participle forms (*spring–sprang* (U.S. also *sprung*)–*sprung*), sometimes forcing verbs such as *shrink* (*shrank–shrunk*) to have a further form, thus *shrunk–shrunk*. These uses are often considered nonstandard; the Associated Press Stylebook in AmE treats some irregular verbs as colloquialisms, insisting on the regular forms for the past tense of *dive*, *plead* and *sneak*. *Dove* and *snuck* are usually considered nonstandard in Britain, although *dove* exists in some British dialects and *snuck* is occasionally found in British and even Australian speech. Both *dove* and *snuck* are used in Canada.

By extension of the irregular verb pattern, verbs with irregular preterits in some variants of colloquial AmE also have a separate past participle, *for example*, "to buy": past tense *bought* spawns *boughten*. Such formations are highly irregular from speaker to speaker, or even within idiolects. This phenomenon is found chiefly in the northern U.S., and other areas where immigrants of German descent are predominant, and may have developed as a result of German influence.

Presence or absence of syntactic elements:

- Where a statement of intention involves two separate activities, it is acceptable for speakers of AmE to use *to go* plus bare infinitive. Speakers of BrE would instead use *to go and* plus bare infinitive: thus where a speaker of AmE might say "I'll go take a bath," BrE speakers would say "I'll go *and* have a bath." (Both can also use the form *to go to* instead to suggest that the action may fail, as in "He went to take/have a bath, but the

bath was full of children.") Similarly, *to come* plus bare infinitive is acceptable to speakers of AmE, where speakers of BrE would instead use *to come* and plus bare infinitive: thus where a speaker of AmE might say "come see what I bought," BrE speakers would say, "come and see what I've bought" (notice the present perfect tense: a common British preference.)

- Use of prepositions before days denoted by a single word. Where British people would say "She resigned on Thursday," Americans often say "She resigned Thursday," but both forms are common in American usage. Occasionally, the preposition is also absent when referring to months: "I'll be here December" (although this usage is generally limited to colloquial speech.)
- In the UK, *from* is used with single dates and times more often than in the United States. Where British speakers and writers may say "the new museum will be open from Tuesday," Americans most likely say "the new museum will be open starting Tuesday." (This difference does not apply to phrases of the pattern *from A to B*, which are used in both BrE and AmE.) A variation or alternative of this is the mostly American "the play opens Tuesday" and the mostly British "the play opens on Tuesday."
- AmE uses intransitively the verb *meet* followed by *with* to mean "to have a meeting with", as for business purposes ("Yesterday we met with the CEO,") and reserves transitive *meet* for the meanings "to be introduced to" ("I want you to meet the CEO, she is such a fine lady,") "to come together with (someone, somewhere)" ("Meet the CEO at the train station,") and "to have a casual encounter with" ("Meet me in the morning.") BrE uses transitive *meet* also to mean "to have a meeting with"; the construction *meet with*, which actually dates back to Middle English, appears to be coming back into use in Britain, despite some commentators who preferred to avoid

confusion with *meet with* meaning "receive, undergo" ("the proposal was met with disapproval.") The construction *meet up with* (as in "to meet up with someone,") which originated in the U.S., has long been standard in both dialects.

- The verb *agree* is used transitively in BrE (as in "agree a contract") while in AmE one would "agree to a contract" or "agree on a contract."
- The verb *visit* is often used intransitively in AmE, with possibly the additional meaning of "to have a conversation" (as in "to visit with a friend," a construction that often sounds strange to British, and many American, ears.) This usage is not very common on the East Coast of the U.S.
- In BrE, the indirect object of the verb *write* usually requires the preposition *to*, for example, "I'll write to my MP" or "I'll write to her" (although it is not required in some situations, for example when an indirect object pronoun comes before a direct object noun, for example, "I'll write her a letter.") In AmE, *write* can be used ditransitively, for example, "I'll write my congressman" or "I'll write him."
- Some verbs that are intransitive in BrE are transitive in AmE; for example, British: "The workers protested against the decision." American: "The workers protested the decision." British: "To cater for a banquet." American: "To cater a banquet." British: "To claim for benefits." American (and also British): "To claim benefits."
- The verb *prevent* can be found in two different constructions: "prevent someone *from* doing something"; "prevent someone doing something." The latter is well established in BrE, but not in AmE.
- Some verbs can take either a to-infinitive construction or a gerund construction; for example, to start/begin/omit *to do something/doing something*. AmE uses the gerund more often than BrE.

- A few 'institutional' nouns take no definite article when a certain role is implied: for example, *at sea* (as a sailor), *in prison* (as a convict), and *at/in college* (for students.) Among this group, BrE has *in hospital* (as a patient) and *at university* (as a student), where AmE requires *in the hospital* and *at the university*. (When the implied roles of patient or student do not apply, the definite article is used in both dialects.) Likewise, BrE has *in future* and American has *in the future*.
- In BrE numbered highways usually take the definite article (for example "the M25", "the A14") while in America they usually do not ("I-495", "Route 66.") Southern California is an exception, where "the 5" or "the 405" are the standard. A similar pattern is followed for named roads, but in America there are local variations and older American highways tend to follow the British pattern ("the Boston Post Road.")
- AmE distinguishes *in back of* [behind] from *in the back of*; the former is unknown in the UK and liable to misinterpretation as the latter. Both however distinguish *in front of* from *in the front of*.
- The use of the function word *out* as a preposition to denote an outward movement, as in "out the door" and "out the window," is standard in AmE, but not quite in British writing, where *out of* is generally the preferred choice, although the "American" usage, usually considered regional or dialectal by British dictionaries, is gaining ground in UK speech.
- American legislators and lawyers always use the preposition *of* between the name of a legislative act and the year it was passed, while their British equivalents do not.

Different prepositions in certain contexts

- In the United States, the word *through* can mean "up to and including" as in *Monday through Friday*. In the UK *Monday to Friday*, or *Monday to Friday inclusive* is used instead; *Monday through to Friday* is also

sometimes used. (In some parts of Northern England the term *while* can be used in the same way, as in *Monday while Friday*, whereas in Northern Ireland *Monday till Friday* would be more natural.)

- British athletes play *in a team*; American athletes play *on a team*.
- The word *heat* meaning "oestrus" is used with *on* in the UK and with *in* in the U.S.
- The intransitive verb *affiliate* can take either *with* or *to* in BrE, but only *with* in AmE.
- The verb *enrol(l)* usually takes *on* in BrE and *in* in AmE (as in "to enrol(l) on/in a course.")
- In AmE, one always speaks of the street *on* which an address is located, whereas in BrE *in* can also be used in some contexts. *In* suggests an address in a city street, so a service station (or a tourist attraction or indeed a village) would always be *on* a major road, but a department store might be *in* Oxford Street. Moreover, if a particular place on the street is specified then the preposition used is whichever is idiomatic to the place, thus "*at* the end of Churchill Road," and thus also the lyric "our house, in the middle of our street" from "Our House" by the British band Madness, whose intended meaning is "halfway along our street" but is confusing to many Americans—in AmE, the lyric suggests that the house is in the middle of the *roadway*.
- The preposition used with the word *weekend* is *on* in the U.S. and *at* (sometimes *on*; the ratio in the British National Corpus is about 9:1) in Britain (for example, in "at the weekend/at weekends" vs. "on the weekend/on weekends"; such usages as "this weekend," "over the weekend," "closed weekends," etc. are found in both dialects.)
- After *talk* American can use the preposition *with* but British always uses *to* (that is, "I'll talk with Dave / I'll talk to Dave." The American form is

- sometimes seen as more politically correct in British organizations, inducing the ideal of discussing (with), as opposed to lecturing (to.) This is, of course, unless talk is being used as a noun, for example: "I'll have a talk with him" in which case this is acceptable in both BrE and AmE.
- In AmE *from* is the preposition prescribed for use after the word *different*: "American English is different from British English in several respects." While considered technically incorrect by some prescriptionists, *different than* is also commonly heard in the U.S., and is often considered standard when followed by a clause ("American English is different than it used to be.") The phrasing *different to* is used only in BrE; when grammar is taught formally in the UK, both *different than* and *different to* are regarded as incorrect, whereas *different from* is considered correct by those who subscribe to grammatical prescription.
 - It is common in BrE to say *opposite to* as an alternative to *opposite of*, the only form normally found in AmE. The use of *opposite* as a preposition ("opposite the post office") has long been established in both dialects, but appears to be more common in British usage.
 - The noun *opportunity* can be followed by a verb in two different ways: *opportunity* plus *to*-infinitive ("the opportunity to do something") or *opportunity* plus *of* plus gerund ("the opportunity of doing something.") The first construction is the most common in both dialects, but the second has almost disappeared in AmE and is often regarded as a Britishism.
 - Both British and Americans may say (for example) that a river is named *after* a state, but "named *for* a state" would rightly be regarded as an Americanism.
 - BrE sometimes uses *to* with *near* ("we live near to the university,") while AmE avoids the preposition in most usages dealing with literal, physical proximity ("we live near the university.")

Phrasal verbs

- In the U.S., forms are invariably *filled out*, but in Britain they can also be *filled in*. However, in reference to individual parts of a form, Americans may also use *in* ("fill in the blanks.")
- Britons facing extortionate prices may have no option but to *fork out*, whereas Americans are more likely to *fork over* or sometimes *up*; both usages are however found in both dialects.
- British thugs will *beat* someone *up*, while their American counterparts will also *beat on* (as both would for an inanimate object, such as a drum) or *beat up on* their victim.
- When an outdoor event is postponed or interrupted by rain, it is *rained off* in the UK and *rained out* in the U.S.

Miscellaneous grammatical differences

- In names of American rivers, the word *river* usually comes after the name (for example, *Colorado River*), whereas for British rivers it comes before (as in *River Thames*). One exception present in BrE is the *Fleet River*, which is rarely called the *River Fleet* by Londoners outside of official documentation. An exception in the U.S. is the *River Raisin* in Michigan named by the French. This convention is mixed, however, in some Commonwealth nations, where both arrangements are often seen.
- In BrE the word *sat* is often colloquially used to cover *sat*, *sitting* and *seated*: "I've been sat here waiting for half an hour." "The bride's family will be sat on the right side of the church." This construction is not often heard outside the UK. In the 1960s, its use would mark a speaker as coming from the north of England but by the turn of the 21st century this form had spread to the south. Its use often conveys lighthearted informality, as many speakers intentionally use an ungrammatical construction they would probably not use in formal written English. This colloquial usage is widely

understood by British speakers. Similarly *stood* can be used instead of *standing*. To an American these usages may imply that the subject had been involuntarily forced to sit or stand.

- In most areas of the United States, the word *with* is also used as an adverb: "I'll come with" instead of "I'll come along." However, in some British Dialects, 'come with' is used as an abbreviation of 'come with me', as in "I'm going to the office - come with" instead of "I'm going to the office - come with me." This particular usage is also used by speakers in Minnesota and parts of the adjoining states: "Want to come with?" It is similar to South African English, where the expression comes from Afrikaans, and is also used by Dutch speakers when speaking in English.
- The word *also* is used at the end of a sentence in AmE, but not in BrE, although it is encountered in Northern Ireland. Hence an American might say "we have that also," whereas a British person would say "we also have that," or "we have that too."

Word derivation and compounds

- Directional suffix *-ward(s)*: British *forwards*, *towards*, *rightwards*, etc.; American *forward*, *toward*, *rightward*. In both dialects, distribution varies somewhat: *afterwards*, *towards*, and *backwards* are not unusual in America; while in Britain *forward* is common, and standard in phrasal verbs like *look forward to*. The forms with *-s* may be used as adverbs (or preposition *towards*), but rarely as adjectives: in Britain as in America one says "an upward motion". The Oxford English Dictionary in 1897 suggested a semantic distinction for adverbs, with *-wards* having a more definite directional sense than *-ward*; subsequent authorities such as Fowler have disputed this contention.
- In BrE, agentive *-er* suffix is commonly attached to *football* (also *cricket*; often *netball*; occasionally *basketball*.) AmE usually uses *football player*.

Where the sport's name is usable as a verb, the suffixation is standard in both dialects: for example, *golfer*, *bowler* and *shooter*.

- English writers everywhere occasionally make new compound words from common phrases; for example, *health care* is now being replaced by *healthcare* on both sides of the Atlantic. However, AmE has made certain words in this fashion which are still treated as phrases in most Commonwealth countries. For example, Americans write *trademark*, but some other countries write *trade-mark* or *trade mark*.
- In compound nouns of the form (verb) (noun), sometimes AmE favors the bare infinitive where BrE favors the gerund. Examples include (AmE first): *jump rope* / *skipping rope*; *racecar* / *racing car*; *rowboat* / *rowing boat*; *sailboat* / *sailing boat*; *file cabinet* / *filing cabinet*; *dial tone* / *dialing tone*.
- More generally, AmE has a tendency to drop inflectional suffixes, thus favoring clipped forms: compare *cookbook* / *cooking book*; *Smith, age 40* / *Smith, aged 40*; *skim milk*/ *skimmed milk*. Both forms are often encountered in British usage.
- Singular attributives in one country may be plural in the other, and *vice versa*. For example, the UK has a *drugs problem* while the United States has a *drug problem* (although the singular usage is also commonly heard in the UK); Americans read the "Sports" section of a newspaper, while the British read the "Sport" section.

Lexis

Most of the differences are in connection with concepts originating from the nineteenth century to the mid twentieth century, where new words were coined independently; almost the entire vocabularies of the car/automobile and railway/railroad industries are different between the UK and America, for example. Other sources of difference are slang or vulgar terms, where frequent new coinage occurs, and idiomatic phrases, including phrasal verbs. The

differences most likely to create confusion are those where the same word or phrase is used for two different concepts. Regional variations even within the U.S. or the UK can create the same problems.

2.4.4 General trends

While the use of American expressions in the UK is often noted, movement in the opposite direction is less common. But such words as *book* (meaning "to reserve,") *queue* (a waiting *line*,) and *roundabout* (otherwise called a *traffic circle* or *rotary*) are clearly current in AmE, although often regarded as British. Some other "Briticisms," such as *go missing* (as an alternative to *disappear*,) *bespoke* (for *custom-made* or *made-to-order*,) or *run-up* "period preceding an event" are increasingly used in AmE, and a few (for instance, *early on*) are now completely standard.

Words mainly used in British English

Speakers of AmE are likely to be aware of some BrE terms, such as *lorry*, *biscuit*, *chap*, *loo*, and *shag* although they would not generally use them, or may be confused as to whether one means the American or British meaning of some (such as *biscuit*.) They will be able to guess approximately what is meant by some others, such as *driving licence*. However, use of many other British words, such as *naff* (unstylish - though commonly used to mean "not very good,") *busk* (to play a musical instrument in public with the hope of getting donations from passers-by) or *bloke* (chap or fellow,) risks rendering a sentence incomprehensible to most Americans.

Words mainly used in American English

Speakers of BrE are likely to be aware of some AmE terms, such as *sidewalk*, *gas*, *cookie*, *elevator* although they would not generally use them. They will be able to guess approximately what is meant by some others, such as *cotton candy*. However, use of some other American words such as *semi* (articulated lorry,)

stroller (pushchair) or *kitty-corner* (diagonally opposite) risks rendering a sentence incomprehensible to most British people.

Words with differing meanings

Word choice

- In Southern Britain the word *whilst* is used almost interchangeably with *while* and *whilst* is the more common term. *Whilst* is more often used in instruction manuals, legal documents, etc. To Americans the word *whilst*, in any context, seems very archaic or pretentious or both. The words *amidst* (as opposed to *amid*,) and to a lesser extent *amongst* (as opposed to *among*) are also rarer in AmE. ("In the midst" is a standard idiom in both.)
- In the UK generally the term *fall* meaning "autumn" is obsolete. Although found often in Elizabethan and Dickensian literature, understanding of the word is usually ascribed to its continued use in America.
- In the UK, the term *period* for a *full stop* is now obsolete, even when used as a phrase, such as "Don't do that. Period." This in itself, though, is likely to be an American import; the use of *full stop* in its place is often preferred.
- Some words are more commonly used by the British than by Americans. An example is the use of *shall* as opposed to *will*. *Shan't* is no longer used by Americans (almost invariably replaced by *won't* or *not going to*,) and very much less so amongst Britons. American grammar also tends to ignore some traditional distinctions between *should* and *would*.
- *Fitted* is used in both conventions as an adjective ("fitted sheets" are the same size as the mattress) and as the past tense of *fit* ("to suffer epilepsy," for example, "Leavitt fitted"); however *fit* and *fitting* do not denote epileptic seizure in ordinary British use (though that usage is common within medical circles), as the same effect is achieved by *to have a fit* or *to throw a fit*.

Numbers

When saying or writing out numbers, the British will insert an "and" before the tens and units, as in "one hundred and sixty-two" and "two thousand and three", whereas Americans will typically drop the "and" as in "two thousand three"; however, "two thousand and three" is also common. The same rule applies when saying numbers in their thousands or millions: "four hundred and thirteen thousand" would be said by a British speaker, whereas the simpler "four hundred thirteen thousand" by an American speaker; "four hundred and thirteen thousand" is incorrect according to American mathematical conventions.

American schools teach that "and" indicates the decimal point: thus, numbers preceding "and" are integers, while the numbers following "and" are fractional (for example, "five hundred thirteen and seven tenths" for 513.7 — in the UK, this would be read "five hundred and thirteen point seven".)

Americans are more likely than the British to read numbers like 1,234 as "twelve thirty-four", instead of "one thousand, two hundred and thirty-four" unless discussing the year 1234, when "twelve thirty-four" would be the norm on both sides of the Atlantic. The year 2000 and beyond are read as "two thousand," "two thousand (and) one" and the like by both British and American speakers. The BBC has recently taken the step to read numbers as "twenty-oh-six" for 2006.

For the house number (or bus number, etc) "272" British people would tend to say "two seven two" while Americans would tend to say "two seventy-two."

There was also a historical difference between billions, trillions, and so forth. Americans use "billion" to mean one thousand million (1,000,000,000), whereas in the UK, until the latter part of the 20th century, it was used to mean one million (1,000,000,000,000) (although historically such numbers were not often required outside of mathematical and scientific contexts.) One thousand million was sometimes described as a "milliard," the definition adopted by most other European languages. However, the "American" version has since been adopted for all published writing, and the word "milliard" is obsolete in English, as are billiard

(but not billiards, the game,) trilliard and so on. All major British publications and broadcasters, including the BBC, which long used "thousand million" to avoid ambiguity, now uses "billion" to mean thousand million.

Many people have no direct experience with manipulating numbers this large, and many non-American readers may interpret "billion" as 10^{12} (even if they are young enough to have been taught otherwise at school); also usage of the "long" billion is standard in some non-English speaking countries. For these reasons, defining the word may be advisable when writing for the general public. See long and short scales for a more detailed discussion of the evolution of these terms in English and other languages.

Finally, when referring to the numeral 0, British people would use "zero," "nought," or "oh" normally, or "nil" in instances such as sports scores and voting results. Americans use the term "zero" most frequently; "oh" is also often used, and occasionally slang terms such as "zilch" or "zip." Phrases such as "the team won two-zip" or "the team leads the series, two-nothing" are heard when reporting sports scores. The digit 0, for example, when reading a phone or account number aloud, is nearly always pronounced "oh" in both languages for the sake of convenience.

When reading numbers in a sequence, such as a telephone or serial number, British people will use the terms *double* or *treble/triple*. Hence 007 is "double oh seven." Exceptions are the emergency telephone number 999, which is always "nine nine nine" and the apocalyptic "Number of the Beast" which is always "six six six." The directory enquiries prefix 118 is also "one one eight" in Britain due to its extensive advertising campaign with the slogan read out as "One one eight, what's your number?" however, in Ireland it is "eleven-eight." In the U.S., 911 (the U.S. emergency telephone number) is almost always read "nine-one-one," while 9/11 (September 11, 2001) is usually read "nine-eleven."

Monetary amounts

- Monetary amounts in the range of one to two major currency units are often spoken differently. In AmE one may say "a dollar fifty" or "a pound eighty" whereas in BrE these amounts would be expressed "one dollar fifty" and "one pound eighty." For amounts over a dollar, an American will generally either drop denominations or give both dollars and cents, as in "two-twenty" or "two dollars and twenty cents" for \$2.20. An American would not say "two dollars twenty." On the other hand, in BrE, "two pounds twenty" would be the most common form. It is more common to hear a British-English speaker say "one thousand, two hundred dollars" than "a thousand, two hundred dollars" although the latter construct is common in AmE. The term "twelve hundred dollars", popular in AmE, is increasingly popular in BrE.
- The BrE slang term "quid" is roughly equivalent to the AmE "buck" and are often used in the two respective dialects for round amounts, as in "fifty quid" for £50 and "twenty bucks" for \$20. "A hundred and fifty grand" in either dialect could refer to £150,000 or \$150,000 depending on context.
- A user of AmE may hand-write the mixed monetary amount \$3.24 as \$3²⁴ or \$3²⁴; BrE users will always write this as £3.24, £3·24 or, for extra clarity on a cheque as £3—24. In all cases there may or may not be a space after the currency symbol, or the currency symbols may be omitted depending on context.
- The term 'pound sign' in BrE always refers to the currency symbol "£," whereas in AmE 'pound sign' means the number sign, which the British call the 'hash' symbol, "#."

Analogue time-telling formulas

Fifteen minutes after the hour is called a *quarter past* in British usage and a *quarter after* or, less commonly, a *quarter past* in American usage. Fifteen

minutes before the next hour is usually called a *quarter to* in British usage and a *quarter of*, a *quarter to*, or a *quarter till* in American usage; the form *quarter to* is associated with parts of the Northern U.S., while *quarter till* originated in Scotland and is found chiefly in the Appalachian region. Thirty minutes after the hour is commonly called *half past* in both BrE and AmE; in informal British speech the preposition is sometimes omitted, so that 5.30 is read as *half five* (it is worth noting that the literal translation of this phrase into German, Dutch or Scandinavian languages would mean "half past four".) In both dialects, *half after* is a minor variant, which used to be predominant in American usage.

Selected lexical differences

Levels of buildings

There are also variations in floor numbering between the U.S. and UK. In most countries, including the UK, the "first floor" is one above the entrance level while the entrance level is the "ground floor"; whereas normal American usage labels the entrance level as the "first floor" and does not use "ground floor." Some American buildings have a "ground floor" or another name for the entrance level, usually as part of a plan to cater to cosmopolitan persons. (This may also be the case in buildings built on hillsides or uneven ground, where the basement on one side of the structure may be at street level on the other.) Nonetheless, the rest of the floors are numbered in the usual American manner. In Montreal, Canada, building floors are numbered in the American or British manner according to the whim of the original owner.

Figures of speech

Both BrE and AmE use the expression "I couldn't care less" to mean the speaker does not care at all. In AmE, the phrase "I could care less" (without the "n't") is synonymous with this in casual usage. Intonation no longer reflects the originally sarcastic nature of this variant, which is not idiomatic in BrE and might be

interpreted as anything from nonsense (or sloppiness) to an indication that the speaker *does* care.

In both areas, saying "I don't mind" often means "I'm not annoyed" (for example, by someone's smoking,) while "I don't care" often means "the matter is trivial or boring." "However, in answering a question like "Tea or coffee?", if either alternative is equally acceptable, an American may answer "I don't care," while a British person may answer "I don't mind." Either sounds odd to the other.

Idioms

A number of English idioms that have essentially the same meaning show lexical differences between the British and the American version; for instance:

BrE	AmE
<i>not touch something with a bargepole</i>	<i>not touch something with a ten-foot pole</i>
<i>sweep under the carpet</i>	<i>sweep under the rug</i>
<i>touch wood</i>	<i>knock on wood</i>
<i>see the wood for the trees</i>	<i>see the forest for the trees</i>
<i>throw a spanner</i>	<i>throw a (monkey) wrench</i>
<i>tuppence worth</i> <i>also two pennies' worth, two pence worth or two pennyworth)</i>	<i>two cents' worth</i>
<i>skeleton in the cupboard</i>	<i>skeleton in the closet</i>
<i>a home from home</i>	<i>a home away from home</i>
<i>blow one's trumpet</i>	<i>blow (or toot) one's horn</i>
<i>storm in a teacup</i>	<i>tempest in a teapot</i>
<i>a drop in the ocean</i>	<i>a drop in the bucket</i>
<i>flogging a dead horse</i>	<i>beating a dead horse</i>

In some cases the "American" variant is also used in BrE, or vice versa.

Education

In the UK, a student is said to *study* a subject (or, at Oxford or Cambridge, to *read* a subject,) while in the U.S., a student either *studies* the subject or *majors* in it (except at a few Ivy League schools, such as Princeton University, Brown University, and Harvard University, where one "concentrates" in it.) Unlike most of the world where university students pursue a single field of study, United States universities often require a variety of courses. *To major* refers only to the student's principal course of study, while *to study* may refer to any class being taken.

BrE:

"She studied history at Bristol."

"She read history at Oxford."

AmE:

"She majored in history at Yale."

The word *course* is ambiguous in American usage. It may refer to a student's major (as in the phrase "course of study") but more commonly it refers to the study of a restricted topic (for example, "a course in Early Medieval England," "a course in Integral Calculus") and is equivalent to a *module* at a British University.

In the UK, a student *revises* or *does revision* for an examination, while in AmE, the student *reviews* for it. When *taking* or *writing* the examination, a student in the UK would have that examination supervised by an *invigilator* whereas in AmE it would be a *proctor* or (*exam*) *supervisor*.

In the UK, a student is said to *sit* or *take* an exam, while in the U.S., a student *takes* an exam. In the UK, a teacher *sets* an exam, while in the U.S., a teacher *writes* or *gives* an exam. The expression *he sits for* an exam also arises in BrE, but only rarely in AmE; American lawyers-to-be *sit for* their bar exams, and American master's and doctoral students may *sit for* their comprehensive exams, but in nearly all other instances, Americans *take* their exams.

BrE:

"I sat my Spanish exam yesterday."

"I plan to set a difficult exam for my students, but I haven't got it ready yet."

AmE:

"I took my exams at Yale."

"I spent the entire day yesterday writing the exam. At last, it's ready for my students."

Another source of confusion is the different usage of the word *college*. (See a full international discussion of the various meanings at [college](#).) In the U.S., this refers to a post-high school institution such as a university, whilst in the UK and most Commonwealth countries it refers primarily to a tertiary institution between secondary school and university (normally referred to as a *Sixth Form College* after the old name in secondary education for Years 12 and 13, the *6th form*) where intermediary courses such as A Levels or NVQs can be taken and GCSE courses can be retaken, with the interchangeability of college with secondary school being rare but not unknown. Americans may be surprised to hear of a 14 year old attending college in the UK, mistakenly assuming it is at the university level. It should be noted however, that in the case of Oxford, Cambridge, London and Durham universities, all members are also members of a college, for example, one is a member of St. Peter's College, Oxford and hence the University.

In both the U.S. and UK, *college* can refer to some division within a university such as the "college of business and economics." Institutions in the U.S. that offer two to four years of post-high school education often have the word *college* as part of their name, while those offering more advanced degrees are called a *university*. (There are exceptions, of course: Boston College, Dartmouth College and The College of William and Mary are examples of colleges that offer advanced degrees.) American students who pursue a *bachelor's degree* (four years of higher education) or an *associate degree* (two years of higher education) are *college students* regardless of whether they attend a college or a university and refer to their educational institutions informally as *colleges*. However, a student who

pursues a master's degree or a doctorate degree in the arts and sciences is a *graduate student*. Students of advanced professional programmes are known by their field (business student, law student, medical student.) Some universities also have a residential college system, the details of which may vary from school to school but generally involve common living and dining spaces as well as college-organized activities.

There is additionally a difference between American and British usage in the word *school*. In British usage this refers only to primary (elementary) and secondary (high) schools, and to *sixth forms* attached to secondary schools - if one "goes to school," this type of institution is implied. By contrast, an American student at a university may talk of "going to school" or "being in school"; it may surprise a British person to hear that a 20 year old American is still in school. However, the word is still used in British universities to describe a division grouping together several related subjects, for example the School of European Languages containing *departments* for each language.

Among high school and college students in the United States, the words *freshman* (or the gender-neutral term *frosh* or *first year*), *sophomore*, *junior* and *senior* refer to the first, second, third, and fourth year respectively. It is important that the context of either high school or college first be established, or else it must be stated directly (that is, "She is a high school freshman." "He is a college junior.") Many institutions in both countries also use the term *first-year* as a gender-neutral replacement for *freshman*, although in the U.S. this is recent usage, formerly referring only to those in the first year as a graduate student. (An exception is the University of Virginia; since its founding in 1819, the terms "first-year," "second-year," "third-year," and "fourth-year" have been used to describe undergraduate university students.) In the UK, first year university students are often called *freshers*, especially early in the academic year; however, there are no specific names for those in other years, nor for school pupils. Graduate and professional

students in the United States are known by their year of study (a "second year medical student" or a "fifth year doctoral candidate.")

In the UK, the U.S. equivalent of a *high school* is often referred to as a *secondary school* regardless of whether it is public or private. Secondary education in the United States also includes *middle school* or *junior high school*, a two or three year transitional school between elementary school and high school.

A *public school* has opposite meanings in the two countries. In the U.S. this is a government-owned institution supported by taxpayers. In England and Wales, the term strictly refers to a select group of prestigious independent schools funded by students' fees, although it is often more loosely used to refer to any independent school. Independent schools are also known as *private schools*, and the latter is the correct term in Scotland and Northern Ireland for all such fee-funded schools. Strictly, the term *public school* is not used in Scotland and Northern Ireland in the same sense as in England, but nevertheless, Gordonstoun, the Scottish private school which Charles, Prince of Wales attended, is sometimes confusingly referred to as a *public school*. Government-funded schools in Scotland and Northern Ireland are properly referred to as *state schools* — but are sometimes confusingly referred to as *public schools* (with the same meaning as in the U.S.); whereas in the U.S., where most public schools are administered by local governments, a *state school* is typically a college or university run by one of the states.

Both the United States and the United Kingdom use several additional terms for specific types of secondary schools. A *prep school* or *preparatory school* is an independent school funded by tuition fees; the same term is used in the UK for a private school for pupils under thirteen, designed to prepare them for fee-paying public schools. An American *parochial school* covers costs through tuition and has affiliation with a religious institution. In the UK, the state-funded education system grew from parish schools organized by the local established church, the Church of England (C. of E., or C.E.), and many schools, especially primary schools (up to age 11) retain a church connection and are known as *church*

schools, *C.E. Schools* or *C.E. (Aided) Schools*. There are also *faith schools* associated with the Roman Catholic Church and other major faiths, with a mixture of funding arrangements.

In the U.S., a *magnet school* receives government funding and has special admission requirements: students gain admission through superior performance on admission tests. The UK has city academies, which are independent privately sponsored schools run with public funding, and which can select up to 10% of pupils by aptitude.

Transport/Transportation

Americans refer to *transportation*, while British people refer to *transport*.

Differences in terminology are especially obvious in the context of roads. The British term *dual carriageway*, in American parlance, would be a *divided highway*. *Central reservation* on a *motorway* in the UK would be a *median* on a *freeway*, *expressway*, *highway*, or *parkway* in the U.S. The one-way lanes that make it possible to enter and leave such roads at an intermediate point without disrupting the flow of traffic are generally known as *slip roads* in the UK, but U.S. civil engineers call them *ramps*, and further distinguish between *on-ramps* (for entering) or *off-ramps* (for leaving.) When American engineers speak of *slip roads*, or *slip ramps*, they are referring to on-ramps and off-ramps that have been rearranged (through use of a grade separation) to minimize weaving on a freeway segment between two interchanges that are too close together. These terms are almost never used by the general public in the U.S.

In the UK, the term *outside lane* refers to the higher-speed *overtaking lane* (*passing lane* in the U.S.) closest to the center of the road, while *inside lane* refers to the lane closer to the edge of the road. These terms have the opposite meanings in AmE, with the *outside lane* being the one near the edge and the *inside lane* being the one closer to the median. In much of the U.S., *outside lane* is only used in the context of a turn, in which case it depends on which direction the road is turning (i.e. if the road bends right the left lane is the *outside lane*, but if the road

bends left the right lane is the *outside lane*). The British also refer to *slow* and *fast* lanes (even though all actual traffic speeds may be at or even above the legal speed limit). UK traffic officials, firefighters, and police officers refer to Lanes 1, 2 and 3, referring to the 'slow', 'middle' and 'fast' lanes respectively.

In the UK, Australia, and New Zealand *drink driving* is against the law, while in the U.S. and Canada, the term is *drunk driving*. The legal term in the U.S. is "driving while intoxicated" (D.W.I.) or "driving under the influence" of alcohol (D.U.I.). The equivalent legal phrase in the UK is to be found "drunk in charge" of a motor vehicle (D.I.C.)

Greetings

When Christmas is explicitly mentioned in a greeting, the universal phrasing in North America is *Merry Christmas*. In Britain and Ireland, *Happy Christmas* is common, although *Merry Christmas* is often used. It is worth noting, however, that Americans quite often say "Happy Holidays" when referring to the entire Christmas season (Christmas, New Year's Day, and the days around them). "Happy" is also nearly always used with other holidays, such as Hanukkah and Kwanzaa.

Writing

Spelling

Some words shared by all English speakers are *spelled* one way by Americans (and at times Canadians and Australians) but are *spelt* differently in some (or, at times, most) other English speaking countries.

-or vs. -our		-ze vs. -se	
American	British	American	British
color	colour	analyze	analyse
favorite	favourite	criticize	criticise
honor	honour	memorize	memorise

-ll vs. -l

American	British
Enrollment	enrolment
Fulfil	fulfil
Skillful	skilful

-og vs. -ogue

American	British
Analog	analogue
Catalog	Catalogue
Dialog	Dialogue

-ck or -k vs. -que

American	British
bank	Banque
check	Cheque
checker	Chequer

-ense vs. -enze

American	British
defense	defence
license	licence

-er vs. -re

American	British
center	centre
meter	metre
theater	theatre

-e vs. -oe or -ae

American	British
encyclopedia	encyclopedia
maneuver	manoeuvre
medieval	mediaeval

-dg vs. -dge (or -g vs. -gu)

American	British
aging	ageing
argument	argument
judgment	judgement

Other

American	British
jewelry	jewellery
draft	draught
pajamas	pyjamas
plow	plough
program	programme
tire	tyre

In British English, words that end in *-l* preceded by a vowel usually double the *-l* when a suffix is added, while in American English the letter is not doubled. The letter will double in the stress is on the second syllable.

Base Word	American	British
counsel	counseling	counselling
equal	equaling	equalling
model	modeling	modelling
quarrel	quarreling	quarrelling
signal	signaling	signalling
travel	traveling	travelling
excel	excelling	excelling
propel	propelling	propelling

Spelling of verbs

This is related to formation of the past participle for verbs. Below is a sampling of the three main categories of differences with verbs.

-ed vs. -t :The first category involves verbs that use *-ed* or *-t* for the simple past and past participle. Generally, the rule is that if there is a verb form with *-ed*, American English will use it, and if there is a form with *-t*, British English uses it. However, these forms do not exist for every verb and there is variation. For example, both American and British English would use the word 'worked' for the past form of 'to work', and in American English it is common to hear the word 'knelt' as the past tense of 'to kneel.'

Base form	American	British
to dream	dreamed	dreamt
to leap	leaped	leapt
to learn	learned	learnt

base form vs. -ed :The second category of difference includes verbs that use either the base form of the verb or the *-ed* ending for the simple past.

Base form	American	British
to fit	fit	fitted
to forecast	forecast	forecasted
to wed	wed	wedded

irregular vs. -ed :The third category of difference includes verbs that have either an irregular spelling or the *-ed* ending for the simple past.

Base form	American	British
to knit	knit	knitted
to light	lit	lighted
to strive	strove	strived

Punctuation

- **Full stops/Periods in abbreviations:** Americans tend to write "Mr.", "Mrs.", "St.", "Dr." etc., while British will usually, but not always, write "Mr", "Mrs", "St", "Dr", etc., following the rule that a full stop is used only when the last letter of the abbreviation is not the last letter of the complete

word. However, many British writers would tend to write other abbreviations without a full stop, such as "Prof", "etc", "eg", and so on (so recommended by some Oxford dictionaries.) The rationale behind this usage is that it is typographically more elegant, and that the omitted full stops/periods are essentially superfluous, as the reader recognizes the abbreviation without them. It also removes ambiguity by reserving the period for ending sentences. However, the "American" usage of periods after most abbreviations is also widely used in the UK. Note that in either case it is incorrect to put a period after units such as kg for kilogram or Hz for hertz, as these are considered unit symbols, not abbreviations; however, in non-scientific contexts, the unit for "inch" is often written "in.", as it would be ambiguous without the period.

- It is sometimes believed that BrE does not hyphenate multiple-word adjectives, such as "a first class ticket." This usage is rare, and often considered incorrect. The most common form is as in AmE, such as "a first-class ticket."
- **Quoting:** Americans start with double quotation marks (") and use single quotation marks (') for quotations within quotations. In general this is also true of BrE, but can be the opposite when used in book publishing, for example. In journals and newspapers, quotation mark double/single use depends on the individual publication's house style.
- **Contents of quotations:** Americans are taught to put commas and periods inside quotation marks, whereas British people will put the punctuation inside if it belongs to the quote and outside otherwise. This means that direct speech retains punctuation inside the quotation marks in BrE also, with a full stop changing into a comma if followed by explanatory text.
 - Carefree means "free from care or anxiety." (American style)
 - Carefree means "free from care or anxiety". (British style)

- "Hello, world," I said. (both styles)

The American style was established for typographical reasons, having to do with the aesthetics of commas and quotation marks in typeset text. It also usefully eliminates the need to decide whether a period or comma belongs to the quotation. However, many people find the usage counterintuitive. *Hart's Rules* and the *Oxford Dictionary for Writers and Editors* call the British style "new" or "logical" quoting; it is similar to the use of quotation marks in many other languages (including Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian, Catalan, Dutch, and German). For this reason, the more "logical" British style is increasingly used in America, although formal writing still generally calls for the "American" style. In fact, the British style is often the *de facto* standard among Americans for whom formal or professional writing is not a part of their daily life; many are in fact unaware that the normative American usage is to place commas and periods within the quotation marks. (This rule of placing all punctuation inside quotation if and only if it belongs to the quotation is expressly prescribed by some American professional organizations such as the American Chemical Society.) According to the Jargon File, American hackers have switched to using "logical" British quotation system, because including extraneous punctuation in a quotation can sometimes change the fundamental meaning of the quotation. More generally, it is difficult for computer manuals, online instructions, and other textual media to accurately quote exactly what a computer user should see or type on their computer if they follow American punctuation conventions.

In both countries, the "British" style is used for quotation around parentheses, so in both nations one would write:

"I am going to the store. (I hope it is still open.)"

But:

"I am going to the store (if it is still open)."

- **Letter-writing:** American students in some areas have been taught to write a colon after the greeting in business letters ("Dear Sir :") while British people usually write a comma ("Dear Sir,") or make use of the so-called *open punctuation* ("Dear Sir"). However, this practice is not consistent throughout the United States, and it would be regarded as a highly formal usage by most Americans.

Titles and headlines

Use of capitalization varies. Sometimes, the words in titles of publications, newspaper headlines, as well as chapter and section headings are capitalized in the same manner as in normal sentences (sentence case.) That is, only the first letter of the first word is capitalized, along with proper nouns, etc.

However, publishers sometimes require additional words in titles and headlines to have the initial capital, for added emphasis, as it is often perceived as appearing more professional. In AmE, this is common in titles, but less so in newspaper headlines. The exact rules differ between publishers and are often ambiguous; a typical approach is to capitalize all words other than short articles, prepositions, and conjunctions. This should probably be regarded as a common stylistic difference, rather than a linguistic difference, as neither form would be considered incorrect or unusual in either the UK or the U.S. Many British tabloid newspapers (such as *The Sun*, *The Daily Sport*, *News of the World*) use fully capitalized headlines for impact, as opposed to readability (for example, BERLIN WALL FALLS or BIRD FLU PANIC.) On the other hand, the broadsheets (such as *The Guardian*, *The Times*, and *The Independent*) usually follow the sentence style of having only the first letter of the first word capitalized.

Dates

Date formats are usually written differently in the short (numerical) form. Christmas Day 2000, for example, is 25/12/00 or 25-12-00 in the UK and 12/25/00

in the U.S., although the formats 25/12/2000, 25-12-2000 and 12/25/2000 now have more currency than they had prior to the year 2000 problem. Occasionally other formats are encountered, such as the ISO 8601 2000-12-25, popular among programmers and others seeking to avoid ambiguity. The difference in short-form date order can lead to misunderstanding. For example, 06/04/05 could mean either 4 June 2005 (if read as U.S. format), 6 April 2005 (if seen as in UK format) or even 5 April 2006 if taken to be an older ISO 8601-style format where 2-digit years were allowed.

A consequence of the different short-form of dates is that in the UK many people would be reluctant to refer to "9/11" although its meaning would be instantly understood. On the BBC "September the 11th" is generally used in preference to 9/11, although 9/11 is commonplace in the British press.

When writing long-form dates, the format "December 25, 2000" is widely encountered in both the U.S. and the UK, and is the form generally used in the U.S. The British also commonly use the format "25 December 2000," more so than Americans. It is, however, acceptable in the U.S. and the American grammarians Strunk and White, among others, recommend it. Similarly, in American speech, "December twenty-fifth" is the most likely form, though "the twenty-fifth of December" is also not uncommon. For example, many Americans refer to Independence Day as the "fourth of July." In the UK the latter is more likely, and even when the month is presented first the definite article is usually inserted in speech, thus "December *the* twenty-fifth." American military usage follows the British model: "25 December 2000" and "25/12/00."

It is common in the UK, and somewhat less so in the U.S., to add a superscripted ordinal ('st, nd, rd' or 'th') to the day number in informal writing (thus "25th December 2000" or "December 25th, 2000") although this can be regarded as superfluous and is more likely to be avoided in formal use.

Times

Americans always write digital times with a colon, thus 6:00, whereas Britons often use a full stop, 6.00. Also, the 24-hour clock (18:00 or 1800), which in the UK would be considered normal in some applications (for example, air/rail/bus timetables) although unusual in informal contexts, is largely unused in North America outside of military or medical applications.

To sum up, we may say that British and American English are the reference norms for English as spoken, written, and taught in the rest of the world; for instance, the English-speaking members of the Commonwealth of Nations often (if not usually) closely follow British orthography, and many new Americanisms quickly become familiar outside of the United States. Although the dialects of English used in the former British Empire are often, to various extents, fairly close to standard British English, most of the countries concerned have developed their own unique dialects, particularly with respect to pronunciation, idioms, and vocabulary; chief among them are, at least for number of speakers, Australian English and Canadian English.

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CHAPTER 3

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter an attempt has been made to study the process of decolonization of English language and how decolonization has been employed as a communicative strategy by Indian English writers to create a language of their own, in order to assert their own identity. Following this we have discussed decolonized English. The next section of the chapter deals with the analysis of the linguistic peculiarities of Indian English, which is further divided into subsections like phonetics and phonology of Indian English, grammar of Indian English, lexis of Indian English and some other features typical to Indian English like reduplication, polite diction and myths and caste in Indian English.

The term Decolonization may simply be defined as the action of changing from colonial to independent status. Decolonization is a process where a colonized people, by developing a consciousness based on the remnants of their traditional culture, redefine themselves as people and reassert the distinct qualities that historically guided their existence. It may also be defined as the process by which a colony gains independence from a colonial power, a process opposite to colonization.

Decolonizing would therefore imply and demand: (i) rejection of colonial imports and imitations; (ii) re-appropriation of our native soil and its promises and possibilities; (iii) sowing of this soil with our own problems, sufferings and struggles, our own needs, hopes, experiences and tears; and (iv) careful gathering of our harvest with which to foster human life and humanizing visions, and to equip ourselves for action. Thus, to decolonize, is to liberate yourself from the colonial yoke.

Decolonization is part of a deliberate anti-colonial strategy. It is a step in the process of the dismantling of the imperialist centralism. Decolonization is a mental process, a deliberate attempt to break free of the shackles of the colonization, therefore establishing a free status. It is employed as a

communicative strategy by the writers, a tool to create a language of their own and their own way of looking at things. The language of decolonized writers registers a deliberate and calculated shift from the norm and standard of conventional language. Decolonization reflects a change in mentality, the writers consciously aim at reorienting the language; modes and expressions of the native language have recognized national rather than imported significances and references and convey local realities, traditions and ways of feeling.

Edward W. Said explores the notion that there are two stages in the process of decolonization. The first takes place in the physical and geographical sense and the second, more complex and difficult, takes place in the cultural, social, and ideological realms. Said writes that the second stage is characterized by "an effort at the restoration of community and repossession of culture that goes on long after the political establishment of independent nation-states."¹ Such a cultural nationalism is concerned with imaginatively constructing, or reconstructing and reviving, a cohesive national identity that receives much of its force from its deliberate contrast with the previous imperial culture. The rise of post-colonial and nativist literature is part of this process and dovetails with trends in postmodernist literature, produced by Western and post-colonial authors alike, in which, as part of the larger postmodern movement of exploring particular modes of being and constructions of reality, one can detect what John A. McClure calls the "resurgence of magical, sacred, pre-modern and non-western constructions of reality"²; this being only the latest stage of "the religious wars of modernity and postmodernity: the suppression, survival, and resurgence of traditions marginalized by European conquest."³

Some of the most vigorous debates in post-colonial societies have centered on exactly what ... "decolonization" implies and how it should be achieved. Some critics have stressed the need vigorously to recuperate pre-colonial languages and cultures. For the most resolute of these critics, colonization is only a passing historical feature which can be left behind entirely when "full

independence” of culture and political organization is achieved. Others have argued that not only is this impossible but that cultural syncreticity is a valuable as well as an inescapable and characteristic feature of all post-colonial societies and indeed is the source of their peculiar strength (Williams 1969.)⁴

To think that colonialism can end abruptly, dictated by independence’s inception, is naive. Colonialism - which brings new values, new beliefs, foreign languages, and alien traditions - cannot be shed like the skin of a snake and then tossed away and forgotten. It will always leave something behind, some form of colonial residue.

Language seems to be the most obvious and the most pervasive of the colonial legacies, especially in the countries over which the British Empire held sway. This becomes evident when one considers the fact that a great amount of internationally recognized post-colonial literature in India has been written in the English. Because language “provides the terms by which reality may be constituted” and “the names by which the world may be “known,”⁵ perhaps the effects of language in a colonized country transcend the basic function of speech as communication and acquire a more cultural significance. Ngugi Wa Thiong’o may be implying this when he writes, “Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world.”⁶ This significance placed on language raises the great debate: What should become of the English language in the former British Empire? Should it be rejected, embraced or perhaps subverted? Does writing in English suggest the betrayal of the mother tongue or the assumption of a new post-colonial identity? Is English a “Post-colonial anomaly, the bastard child of the Empire”⁷ or has it evolved to fit the need of its speakers in the post-colonial world? No one can deny the socio-economic advantages that the knowledge of English brings.

Two of the major responses to English's pervasiveness in post-colonial writings include rejection and subversion.

Fearing English's encroachment on indigenous culture and traditions, Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o calls for the complete rejection of the imperial language and concludes, "The bullet was the means of the physical subjugation. Language was the means of the spiritual subjugation."⁸ He believes that the retention of the colonizers language prevents a nation from ever gaining true independence.

Subversion involves the use of English as a means of retaliation, hence the concept of "the Empire writes back." "The post-colonial writers" adoption of the colonial language to local needs by decolonizing it and reconstructing it into a "very different linguistic vehicle" attempts to impose something on the West.⁹ Ethnographic phrases, found in Salman Rushdie's writings function as assertion of the author's naming power, for "to name the world is to "understand" it, to know it and have control over it."¹⁰

Wole Soyinka's response to the colonial past of the language is very insightful - indeed, very refreshing; he says that English has turned into "a new medium of communication," and thus represents "a new organic series of mores, social goals, relationships, universal awareness- all of which go into the creation of a new culture." Soyinka uses a very potent metaphor when he says that [b]lack people twisted the linguistic blade in the hands of the traditional cultural castrator and carved new concepts into the flesh of white supremacy.¹¹ And the result, says Soyinka, is "the conversion of the enslaving medium into an insurgent weapon." What Soyinka says about Africa is indeed already true in the world of English in Asia. What Soyinka means when he says that "black people" are "carving new concepts" by the use of the medium and what Quirk means by "liberation linguistics" is actually one of the major strengths of the English language in Asia. We cannot overlook the significance of such a conceptualization for Asian uses of English.

African writers in English often draw upon local traditions of oratory; proverbs, myths, legends and metaphors to create an Afrocentric ethos, and here one could instance the novels of Ngugi wa Thiong'o from Kenya, Chinua Achebe from Nigeria, the Ugandan poet Okot p' Bitek or the novels of Ama Ata Aidoo from Ghana. The effect of fusing these contrasting cognitive systems has affinities with "magic realism," though many such novels and poems were written before the term became fashionable. More recently, Ngugi took the decision to write novels in his mother-tongue, Gikuyu, in a conscious manoeuvre designed directly to address the Gikuyu people rather than a primarily western readership.

Ngugi's radicalism carries linguistic decolonisation to a logical conclusion, but writers in English have also developed strategies by which they challenge Eurocentric representations. Achebe's ground-breaking novel *Things Fall Apart* was written as a response to Conrad's vision of African savagery in *Heart of Darkness*. Jean Rhys, from Dominica, in her novel *Wide Sargasso Sea*, gives substance to Bertha, the mad woman in the attic in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, exposing the 'canonical' author's unthinking complicity in contemporary views on race. The South African writer, J.M. Coetzee deconstructs the text of Robinson Crusoe in his novel *Foe*, which subtly centralises the character of Friday. Caryl Phillips (born in St Kitts) has deftly woven the story of *Othello* into his latest novel, *The Nature of Blood*. These are just a few writers who have, in Salman Rushdie's words written "back to the centre," recuperating representations of "third World" identity from the western canon.

English during the British Empire had become an integral part of Indian nationalism. No one really had the time or the inclination to bother about the English they were using, whether it measured up to the requirements of Standard English or not. They were using the English they knew, the English they thought would serve their purpose best. They were people with the purpose and it was the intensity of the purpose, which made their English

spontaneous and unselfconscious. And this is where the decolonization of English really started. The English language began to acquire a different character and to assure a different personality.

“Put India in the Atlantic ocean and it would reach from Europe to America. It’s high time Indian literature got itself noticed, and it is happening.”¹² In his Introduction to *Mirrorwork: 50 years of Indian Writing*, Salman Rushdie writes: This collection is a celebration of the marriage of the English language and the Indian culture, “the prose writing-both fiction and non-fiction created in this period by Indian writers writing in English is proving to be a stronger and more important body of work than most of what has been produced in the 16 ‘official languages’ of India; the so-called ‘vernacular languages’ during the same time.” Rushdie notes that the pieces represent 50 years of work by four generations of Indian writers, and they are as various as “the huge crowd of a country” they hail from – “that vast, metamorphic, continent-sized culture that feels, to Indians and visitors alike, like a nonstop assault on the senses, the emotions, the imagination, and the spirit.”¹³ Indeed the most immediate expression is of the extraordinary variety: The works here range from Ruth Praver Jhabvala’s cool somber *In the Mountains*, to Bhapsi Sidhwa’s nightmarish record of the destruction of the Muslim village in *Ranna’s Story*, and from the complex realism of Rohinton Mistry’s *The Collectors* to the impressionist tongue-in-cheek narrative *The Trotter-Nama* by I. Allan Sealy. The stories do share, though, a clear, persistent desire to locate an identity for India, as well as the struggle to reflect in written language the sheer zest of India’s many tongues. In *Midnight’s Children* Rushdie mentions the redrawing of India’s map in 1956 in which the boundaries of states “were not formed by rivers, or mountains, or any natural features of the terrain; they were instead walls of words. Language divided us”¹⁴ Judged from this point of view, Rushdie’s multilingual medium in the novel may be considered a plea for resisting the artificial division or portions of Indian democracy and for embracing fluidity and multiplicity, which is the ultimate reality about India.

The question is whether this adoption of language variance as a technique for literary discourses undermines the homogenous character of English and make it a distinct entity creating a linguistic distance from English. Critics of the post-colonial language use suggest that the creativity of the post-colonial writers does not make a thrust for cultural difference but rather for a cultural compromise affected through the alchemy of “colonial structures and indigenous processes.” The language used by these writers sets up, albeit inadvertently, and implicit hierarchy between imperial structure/language/culture on the one hand and indigenous process/practice/experience on the other.

Some of the strategies employed by the writers in decolonizing the English language are: (i) using a number of native words; (ii) using translations of certain characteristic expressions, idioms and sayings; (iii) imposing the syntax of the native language without, however doing great violence to English grammar; (iv) imposing the native speech rhythms of the English language spoken by the native characters. The motivation in the use of native words and expressions is the deliberate attempt on the writer’s part to convey native-ness.

The post-colonial texts of the diglossic societies use a language, which is different from the language of power and gives the writer an amplitude of freedom which conformity to the metropolitan/standard variety so far denied. Distinguished between ‘English’ as is the norm for the metropolitan centre and ‘English’ as is the now-devised post-colonial variety Bill Ashcroft et al. in *The Empire Writes Back* quote Terdiman to show how English has established itself as distinct and separate: “In this process of ‘becoming’ English, by asserting its opposition to the centre and constantly interrogating the dominance of the ‘standard’, establishes itself as a contrastive or counter-discourse.”¹⁵ At the same time, that is, as an English, ‘emerges’ from English it establishes itself as distinct and separate. A considerable range of linguistic variance is generated; even though such variance is always attacked from

centre by the dismissive terms 'colloquialism' or 'idiom.'¹⁶ The post-colonial cross-cultural texts take advantage of the liberality of the tongue and make extensive use of hybrid and unglossed local terms. The post-colonial writers go through the process of abrogation and appropriation to make it possible.

The process of decolonization of English in India includes using language "unproblematically" which on the one hand enhances the process of abrogating and replacing the English language and on the other hand forges a multilingual need to capture the polyglossic and multicultural reality. Since language is a primary means of defining the self, anticolonial writers, seize the language of the centre and replaces it in a discourse fully adapted to the cultural ambience of India. By re-moulding the colonial English to new, inventive, need-based usages; they give a jolt to the notion of the illusory standard of normative or 'correct' usage. They force the language of the centre to bear the burden of communicating the cultural experience of the periphery. It is, as Raja Rao puts it in *Kanthapura*, to "convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own."¹⁷ The deliberate use of native terms by post-colonial writers is also a strategy for characterization.

3.2. Decolonized English

In this jungle of metaphors, English is Hydra-like with many heads, including one that, in the view of Raja Rao, India's metaphysical writer, is uplifting for, as he says, it "...elevates us all."¹⁸ Rao has no hesitation in equating English in India with the Brahmanic sacred language Sanskrit. The metaphors "the Flowering Tree" or "the Speaking Tree" points to yet other dimensions of English: its multiculturalism and pluralism.

Decolonized texts have both a national identity and a linguistic distinctiveness (e.g., Indianness, Africanness.) The linguistic realization of such identities is achieved in several ways: the text may have both a surface and an underlying identity with the native varieties of English; it may show only partial identity with the native norms or it may entail a culture-specific (e.g., African, Asian) identity both at the surface and the underlying levels and share nothing with

the native variety. Thus, decolonized texts have several linguistic and cultural faces: they reveal a blend of two or more linguistic textures and literary traditions and they provide the English language with extended contexts of situation within which such literatures may be interpreted and understood.

English in Asia has already acquired functional nativeness, and that Asia's English must be viewed in terms of that nativeness, which includes uses of English:

1. as a vehicle of communication across distinct linguistic and cultural groups at one level of interaction;
2. as a nativized medium for articulating local identities within and across Asia;
3. as one of the pan-Asian languages of creativity;
4. as a language that has developed its own subvarieties indicating penetration;
5. as a language that continues to elicit a unique love-hate relationship that, nevertheless, has not seriously impeded its spread, functions, and prestige.

The implications of focusing on the Indianness of English and its Indian identity demand that we consider the message that the myths about English convey to us.

In the beginning the creative writing in English by Indians was not accepted as a welcome idea. Gordon Bottomley, for example, described it as “Matthew Arnold in a sari.” John Mander thought that English in India “has become essentially a dead language” and that it was “no more a possible proposition”¹⁹; and John Wain pointed out that Indian English “lacks the fineness of nuance that makes literature possible.”²⁰ Indian writing in English has been called “a Janus-faced literature” born of “a cross-fertilization of two faithful cultures”—Indian and European. Whether Indians are really capable of using English for creative purposes is already a matter of the past. Moreover, as Bhabani Bhattacharya puts it, “the fundamental right of a creative artist to

express himself in whatever manner he likes cannot be denied, and the concept of creative freedom would include the medium of expression to which the writer, out of his inner urge, commits himself.”²¹ If a writer is able to communicate his thoughts, vision and experiences authentically in a language, his choice is justified. Indian writers themselves have testified to the suitability of English for creative writing in India. “All that I am able to confirm after nearly thirty years of writing, “writes R. K. Narayan, “is that it has served my purpose admirably, of conveying unambiguously the thoughts and acts of a set of personalities....”²² Nirad Choudhari, another competent Indian writer in English, represents the views of most of the Indian creative writers when he remarks: “English is not a mere instrument for us but a force shaping and moulding personality, making us a wholly different kind of character from what we should have been if we did not know the [English] language.”²³ Kamala Das effrontery would silence all denigration and deliberate attempts to exorcise English from the Indian creative scene. “Why not let me speak in/Any language I like?” she asks. “The language I speak/Becomes mine, its distortions, its queerness/All mine, mine alone.”

Indian English has been criticized for what has been termed as ‘phrase-mongering’ and ‘wrong’ compounding. What is often forgotten is the fact that a language carries tell-tale marks of the ‘accent of the mind’ of its speakers, to use a phrase of R.L. Stevenson’s, and that its structures are related to the thinking process of the people. It has been pointed out that Indians ‘think’ in “a circle or a spiral of continuously developing potentialities, and not on a straight line of progressive stages” as do the Westerners.²⁴ The Indian concept of time is cyclic rather than linear, and Indian logical syllogisms have a nonsequential structure. It is not surprising therefore that the patterns of linguistic structure in Indian English are different from those of British English or American English. As C.L. Wrenn observes, “The form of English that has already developed in India and may henceforth develop even more rapidly and uninhibitedly may well be recognized by serious students of English as at least legitimate and not altogether unacceptable form of the

express himself in whatever manner he likes cannot be denied, and the concept of creative freedom would include the medium of expression to which the writer, out of his inner urge, commits himself.”²¹ If a writer is able to communicate his thoughts, vision and experiences authentically in a language, his choice is justified. Indian writers themselves have testified to the suitability of English for creative writing in India. “All that I am able to confirm after nearly thirty years of writing, “writes R. K. Narayan, “is that it has served my purpose admirably, of conveying unambiguously the thoughts and acts of a set of personalities....”²² Nirad Choudhari, another competent Indian writer in English, represents the views of most of the Indian creative writers when he remarks: “English is not a mere instrument for us but a force shaping and moulding personality, making us a wholly different kind of character from what we should have been if we did not know the [English] language.”²³ Kamala Das effrontery would silence all denigration and deliberate attempts to exorcise English from the Indian creative scene. “Why not let me speak in/Any language I like?” she asks. “The language I speak/Becomes mine, its distortions, its queerness/All mine, mine alone.”

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language. Inevitably and in spite of our best efforts, there will be more and more peculiarly Indian forms of English usage in India.”²⁵

No individual or nation can today have any proprietorial claim over any language and a writer is free to express himself in any language provided he can do so successfully. English today is a shared language and no country-not even England has any proprietorial rights over it. R. K. Narayan once observed that “the time has come for us to consider seriously the question of a Bharat brand of English. So far English has had a comparatively confined existence in our country chiefly in the halls of learning, justice, or administration. Now the time is ripe for it to come to the dusty street, market place and under the banyan tree.”²⁶ What Indian writers seek to do is just that-to forge “a Bharat brand of English or a brand of English that very often deviates from the standard conventions.” As early as 1956, Firth had said that, “in view of the almost universal use of English, an Englishman must de-anglicize as well.”²⁷ It has got to be accepted today that there are many valid varieties of English and that their speakers need not sound like Americans or Britons or any other group of native speakers to be effective users of English. The existence of a language is an existential fact, connecting a perceived reality and a shared dream, and the pragmatics governing its use has got to be recognized properly. Kachru aptly points out, “... a pragmatic or functional view is essential in understanding the uses of English in unEnglish contexts. It is specially true now, since English has already attained the status of a universal language whose functions vary from situation to situation, from one continent to another.”²⁸

R. K. Narayan writes, “We are all experimentalists. We are not attempting to write Anglo-Saxon English. The English language, through sheer resilience and mobility, is now undergoing a process of Indianization in the same manner as it adopted U.S citizenship over a century ago...I cannot say whether the process of transmutation is to be viewed as an enrichment of the English language or a debasement of it.”²⁹ The language evolved by Indian

English writers, according to Gokak, has to represent “the evolution of a distinct standard – a standard the body of which is correct English usage but whose soul is Indian in color, thought and imagery.”³⁰ P. Lal highlights the challenge more forthrightly, “I should like to add...that part of the excitement of writing in English comes from the challenge of creating a special ‘idiom’...the texture of language, its idiom comes generally by wearing out one’s heart (as Yeats put it) on the rocks of craft-learning...The task of any self-respecting Indian writer is to discover a suitable ‘idiom’ for the bewilderingly rich material he has in front of him waiting to be creatively transformed.”³¹

There are several reasons why the non-native varieties of English deviate at the phonological, grammatical and lexical levels. First, is the presence of a substratum. Second, the impact of cultural parameters. Third, resistance to the impact of linguistic change which influences the native varieties of English. Fourth, attaching primary importance to written sources, especially those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This manifests itself what has been labeled “bookishness” in Indian English.³² The non-native varieties of English function in societal, linguistic, and cultural networks that are distinctively different from those of America and Britain. Since English is used for intercultural interaction across languages in India, the result has been a slow process of acculturation; which one might call, Indianization. This is an inevitable linguistic process, which has applied earlier to Latin, Sanskrit, and various other languages. It is a process that is impossible to stop, but perhaps difficult for purists to accept.

Decolonization of English has been a gradual process, which is still going on. Indian writers have had to come out of the dilemma of conveying the sensibility and nuances typical of Indian life and culture through a language that is not of Indian origin and yet remaining unfettered by ‘English chains.’. In his foreword to *Kanthapura*, Raja Rao remarks, “One has to convey in a language that is not one’s own the spirit that is one’s own. One has to convey

the various shades and omissions of a certain thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language.” He nevertheless justifies an Indian writer’s creative use of English, for it is “the language of our intellectual make-up” as Sanskrit and Persian were earlier. English as used by Indian writers, says he, has the potential of emerging as a powerful means of literary expression in this part of the world, and sedulous aping will not take us very far. “We cannot write like the English. We should not.” What is essential in the present context is a concerted effort on the part of Indian writers to carve out a distinct idiom of English. Rao adds, “Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will some day prove to be as distinctive and colorful as the Irish or the American. Time alone will justify it.”³³ Referring to the Indian ‘style’ of English he continues, “After language the next problem is that of style. The tempo of Indian life must be infused into our English expression, even as the tempo of American or Irish life has gone into the making of theirs. We, in India, think quickly, we talk quickly, and when we move, we move quickly. There must be something in the sun of India that makes us rush and tumble and run on.”³⁴

Dustoor rightly claimed in the 1950s: “there will always be a more or less indigenous flavor about our English. In our imagery, in our choice of words, in the nuances of meaning we put into our words, we must be expected to be different from Englishmen and Americans alike.” The language thus re-created would honestly be expressive of our national temperament and will considerably enrich the English language, “Our mental climate will always foster plants that do not flourish in England or America, and such plants, just because they are somewhat exotic, add to the charm of a garden. All lovers of English will, therefore, encourage them to grow in the worldwide garden of English.”³⁵ Gokak shares the same view. According to him, those writers, “who are true to Indian thought and vision cannot escape the Indian flavor even when they write in English. Their style is, in a great measure, conditioned by the learned vocabulary of the subject on which they

write...Even when they write fiction; they depend for their effect on picturesque Indian phrases and their equivalents in English.”³⁶

Indian writers draw their sustenance from their heritage. The recurrent imagery and myths, themes and characters help them capture the characteristic Indian ethos. English, said Raja Rao is not merely an ‘alien’ language to Indian writers in English, most of whom are ‘instinctively bilingual’. They have found, as William Walsh states, “a sense of peculiar intimacy with the English language, making it a second natural voice for the Indian mind and sensibility.”³⁷ The English language as developed by these writers he says, will realize “the power of Indian inheritance, the complexity of Indian experience, and the uniqueness of the Indian voice.”

Indian writers, says Mulk Raj Anand, aim at “consciously reorienting the language” and “synthesizing Indian and European values in contemporary India.”³⁸ Decolonization of English in India has been going on surreptitiously for the last five decades and reflects a change in mentality; words and expressions in Indian English have recognized national rather than imported significances and references and convey local realities, traditions and ways of feeling. Anand has said on several occasions that the King’s (or the Queen’s) English is inadequate for an Indian writer. The English language as used by the Britishers or Americans, he says, “seemed a completely unsuitable medium to interpret my mother’s village Punjabi wit, wisdom and folly” in which “there are inevitable echoes of the mother tongue.”³⁹ Anand regards Indian English as a language of remarkable vitality. He calls it “Pigeon-Indian.” Despite a rugged rhythm and clichés, words in it soar “like a pigeon in flight, shrill when they are frightened, nervous and sensitive, often soft and soothing, somewhat heavy-footed, but always compelled by the love of flight.”⁴⁰ According to him, “the creative process behind most of the genuine Indian English writing... is a natural expression of a bilingual talent, nourished mostly on the mother tongue, and seeking communion, beyond communication, on certain levels which has not entered into English

literature....”⁴¹ Raja Rao, not unlike Anand has made interesting innovations in style, syntax and word formation. He is in favour of having English in this country “as long as we are “truly Indians of the Indian psyche” and “not as a guest or friend, but as one of our own, of our caste our creed, our sect and our tradition.”⁴² G. V Desani remarked, “...my entire linguistic creed... is simply to find a suitable medium. I find the English language is that kind of a medium. It needs to be modified to serve my purpose.”⁴³

Indian writers have acculturated and decolonized the English language. They felt that it is important to indigenize the medium of writing, to project a comprehensive vision of the highly complex, multilingual and multicultural society that India is. In an article significantly entitled “The Empire Writers Back with a Vengeance” (*London Times*, 3 July 1982); Rushdie wrote about what he called decolonizing of the English language by writers like Chinua Achebe, Ngugi Wa Thiong’o, Nadine Gordimer, R. K. Narayan, G. V. Desani and others. Narayan, he said, is “busy forging English into new shapes,” and Desani has shown “how English could be bent and kneaded until it spoke in an authentically Indian voice.” Rushdie himself seems to be doing the same. According to him, the language like much else in the newly independent societies needs to be decolonized, to be made in the other image, if those who use it from positions outside Anglo-Saxon cultures are to be more than artistic Uncle Toms. And it is this endeavor that gives the new literatures of Africa, the Caribbean and India much of their present vitality and excitement. English, Rushdie said ceased to be the sole possession of the English quite some time ago.⁴⁴ He further remarked, “What seems to me to be happening is that those peoples who were once colonized by the language are now rapidly remaking it, domesticating it, becoming more and more relaxed about the way they use it - assisted by the English’s language’s enormous flexibility and size, they are carving out large territories for themselves within its frontiers.”⁴⁵

Rushdie believes that if he has to convey his vision of Indian culture in an original way with English as his medium of writing, he has “to break up the language and put it back together/in a different way ... to destroy the natural rhythms of the English language ... and, to dislocate the English and let other things do it.”⁴⁶ Rushdie does not find the task of dislocating the English language much of a problem. In an interview he explicitly states that, “The English language is, I think, less of a problem than people make it out to be.” He maintains, “that by now English is very domesticated in India.” Rushdie desires “that Indian writers will become much freer with the English language ... use it with more nerve, more confidence ... unproblematically and without that kind of echo of the colony ... and use it with more nerve, more confidence, more ease, and with more Indianness.”⁴⁷

Upamanyu Chatterjee says that the ‘language of the blood-sucking imperialists’ has changed so greatly that, “The language we speak is not the English we read in English books... Our English should be just a vehicle of communication. Other people find it funny but how we speak shouldn’t matter as long as we get the ideas across.”⁴⁸

Indianization of English, however, has not been approved by some writers like Nirad Chaudhuri. He wants English to be English; examples of ‘Baboo English’ and ‘Indian English’ confirm his belief that the choice before the Indian writer in English is “to write much better English than he has done so far, or go to the wall.” The linguistic culture of India, to him, is made up of “a combination of English, a denatured written vernacular and a mixed colloquial language.”⁴⁹ Questioning the assumption that English can survive in India only by developing an Indian form, he writes in an article, “If for no other reason, simply for the fact that laziness is the greatest force in the use and adoption of languages the principle of Anglicizing the Indian languages will push out the alternative principle of Indianizing English.”⁵⁰ The “mutation of linguistic genes,” he adds, will only result in the “denatured syntax and vocabulary.” A writer like Raja Rao, on the other hand, does not

want to write like the English. R. K. Narayan, whose own English is a model of what he advocates, also favours the growth of 'a Bharat brand of English' which "while following the rule of law and maintaining the dignity of grammar, will still have a Swadeshi stamp about it unmistakably, like the Madras hand-loom check shirt or the Thirupathi doll."⁵¹ The sense of individuality even in the case of a language is essential and it will result in certain distinctive features.

Indian English has ramifications in Indian culture (which include languages) and is used in India towards maintaining appropriate Indian patterns of life, culture and education. This, in short, we may call the Indianness of Indian English, in the same way as we speak of the Englishness of British English.⁵² He also remarks that the distance between the natively used varieties of English and Indian English cannot be explained only or by comparative studies of phonology and grammar. The deviations are an outcome of the Indianization of English. The deviations in phonology and grammar are only a part of this process of Indianization.⁵³

The linguistic resources of English have been fruitfully exploited by Indian writers for creative purposes. These writers put their "language resources to an unaccustomed strain," and the language is being moulded today to yield a new idiom. "The language," says Kantak, "has to be broken..., as it were, and made new."⁵⁴

Indian writers forge an independent 'dialect' of English. According to H. M. Williams, "Indian English is undoubtedly the most popular vehicle for the transmission of Indian ideas to the wider English speaking world."⁵⁵ It gives an illuminating view of the variegated Indian socio-cultural matrix.

Decolonized Indian English and its characteristics, stem from Indian thought and ethos, which would provide an opportunity for cross-fertilization of ideas and values. Indian writer's presentation of Indian reality and their re-writing of the contemporary Indian history in creative terms will go a long way in removing some deep-rooted misconceptions. The process of decolonization is

an ongoing activity with wide ramifications and it is high time that it was considered from various angles.

3.3 Linguistic Peculiarities of Indian English

This section outlines the dimensions of Indian English, which constitutes a world of its own in linguistic, cultural, interactional, ideological, and political terms.

The English language has come to stay in India and is being used for almost all the purposes that it is employed by the native speaker, even for interpersonal function albeit by a small section of Indian society. Now that English has ceased to be the sole property of the British or the so-called native speakers and has become a world language, it is bound to have national/regional varieties, if not already fully developed, in different stages of development.

The process of decolonization of the English language manifests itself in three aspects. First, it supplies rich data for language contact study in cross-cultural and multilingual context, thus being of interest from a sociolinguistic point of view. Second, it raises many typologically interesting theoretical and methodological problems about the descriptions of the new Englishes, which have developed from the L₁ varieties of English (say, for example, American English, Australian English, British English, Canadian English) as second or foreign languages. Third, there is a large body of the South Asian English literature in different forms (e.g., poetry, prose, fiction), which is interesting from a stylistic point of view. This rapidly increasing body of writing is now being recognized in the English-speaking world as a significant development of the English language in a subcontinent where English is spoken only by a small minority out of the total literate population.

In South Asia it is very common to come across users of English who have acquired some control of restricted items of English but who cannot use the language in any serious sense. Some such varieties have been labeled *Babu English*, *Butler English*, *Bearer English*, *Kitchen English*.⁵⁶

Indian English lexis has many distinctive and kaleidoscopic aspects of meanings and structures, which are not found in British or American English. Indeed, decolonized English's linguistic autonomy alongside native as well as non-native English come out sharply, not in a slipshod sample of a random assortment of so-called Indian English's lexical features, but in the core patterns of Indian English's lexical repertoire, integrated with Indian English speech situation through functional value or wide assimilation, or both.

The fairly unexplored dimension of Indian English's lexico-morphological strategies of nativizing lexis of the language is directly somewhat independent of Indian English's semantic and collective patterns of nativization.⁵⁷ The lexical items nativized through these strategies are typical 'Indianisms' in that they are overtly marked structurally and cut across registral variations in terms of distribution in pan-Indian English speech situation. Broadly speaking, the term 'Indianism' can be used as a label for an intended formal manipulation of English in order to make it an adequate mode of expression of the exigencies and contingencies of Indian themes, context and scenario, particularly in literary communication. So, they are not merely 'typically Indian English formations' since they constitute part of the natural linguistic discourse and at the same time serve as a necessary formal device for the author. As such they can reasonably be considered a valid unit to stylistic innovation. The generic term 'Indianism' thus refers to a tendency of the Indian writer in English to interpolate his English with lexical borrowings, loan translations or other formal features. Indianism is the soul of Indian literature and its major dimension.

The 'Indianisms', as linguistic innovations are called, are determined by the context and are productive and pragmatically essential. They should not be regarded merely as "linguistic flights...which jar upon the ear of the native Englishman."⁵⁸ They are, in fact, motivated by underlying linguistic and socio-cultural needs of the speakers. The language thus re-created would be expressive of our national temperament and will considerably enrich the

English language. The Indianness of Indian English may take several forms and shapes and may appear in a work in diverse ways, both overt and subtle.

The process of decolonization has affected English from phonological to lexical to syntactic to semantic level. At the hands of competent writers of India, English is being used independently, without being a pale imitation of a native variety. The linguistic resources of English have been fruitfully exploited by Indian writers for creative purposes.

3.3.1 Phonetics and Phonology of Indian English

There have been more studies on phonetics and phonology of Indian English than on any other area. There may be two reasons for this: First, during approximately the last thirty years entire South Asia has been exposed to the structuralist linguists; their undue emphasis on phonetics and phonology manifests itself in the research. Second, pedagogically this level has always been treated as primary, and since these studies were done essentially from pedagogical point of view, the pedagogical presentation naturally attracted more attention.

The phonetic and phonological deviations in Indian English are essentially determined by the phonetic and phonological structures of the L_1 . These deviations are of two types, (a) those of segmental phonemes, and (b) those of non-segmental phonemes.

The Segmental Phonemes

In this section we have tried to present certain generalizations about Indian English. The basis of such generalizations can be the underlying features of the languages of the region. These generalizations are of two types, i.e., structural and systemic.

By structural and systemic differences, in the case of Indian English, we mean the following. The term structure is used in a syntagmatic sense, and the term system in a paradigmatic sense. Thus in many cases the structure of L_1 may be absent in L_2 (in this case, English) or the structure may be 'identical',

yet there may be systemic differences. Consider, for example, the following three language of South Asia: Hindi-Urdu, Kashmiri and Sinhalese. We find that in these three languages (as in English) CVC morpheme structure is possible. Thus in this restricted sense these language may be considered 'identical' with English at the phonetic level. However, we should note here that these vary in the elements, which operate in the systems. For example, /f, θ, ð / do not occur in the above languages as members of any system; this results in the transfer or substitution of L₂ elements by L₁ elements. In phonetic terms this transfer is of two types. First, it may involve a substitution of one or more phonetic elements in a full series of sounds, e.g., the fricative series, which is not absent in South Asian languages but which shows 'gaps' when compared with the same series in English. Second, there may be complete transfer of a series, e.g., the whole alveolar series is replaced by a retroflex series in South Asian English. The degree of retroflexion in Indian English varies from the south to the north of India. The systemic differences may also occur in term of distribution. An Indian language and English may have 'identical' phonetic elements, but these shared sounds may operate in different systems. For example, both in Hindi and English the following clusters are present: *sk, st, sp*. The differences, however, are distributional, i.e., structurally these elements are shared but systemically they are different. The result is that in Indian English (as spoken in the Hindi region) we get the following forms:

station	[ɪstɛɪʃn]	speak	[ɪspi:k]
school	[ɪsku:l]	stall	[ɪstɑ:l]

What happens, usually unconsciously, is that the most approximate sound is substituted from the phonological inventory of L₁ wherever there is a 'gap' in the system. This substitution and 'overhauling' of the phonological systems (segmental and non-segmental) results in the deviations and, ultimately, in the phonological characteristics termed *South Asianness* or *Indianness*.

A detailed typological analysis of the systems gives us sub varieties of Indian English. These sub varieties; apply to the regional varieties, and also to the ethnic varieties of Indian English.

In the general typological statement of Indian English, two things are to be taken into consideration: first, the subsystem of the loan phonology of different Indian languages; second, the subsystems of *nonshared* items in different Indian languages. A good example of the first is provided by Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi, Kashmiri and Sinhalese. In the spoken English of the L₁ speakers of the above languages, the /ph,f/ distinction is maintained by a large number of people who are exposed to the loan phonology (say, acquired from Arabic, Persian, or other languages) in their respective L₁s. It should be noted here that the /ph,f/ distinction is not found in the non-loan phonology of these languages except Sinhalese. In Sinhalese /f/ is found only in Sanskrit loanwords. A number of such examples may be added from other languages, too. Thus it is on the basis of two phonological systems, the main system and the subsystems, that the analysis of Indian English is to be worked out. By nonshared items in Indian languages we mean, e.g., the implosive in Sindhi or lateral flap in Marathi, which are not shared by all Indian languages.

Thus we can see the influence of following items of Indian languages on Indian English: (a) nonshared items, (b) ethnic-group differences (c) caste dialects and (d) religious dialects. In many North Indian or Pakistani varieties of English we find that certain distinctions found in one language merge into one distinction in another language. Consider, for example, the phonemes /s/ and /ʃ/. In Bengali, English *same to you* becomes *shame to you*. On the other hand, on the borders of Bengal and Orissa the situation is quite the opposite; there /ʃ/ changes to /s/, thus *she* and *see* are homophonous.

There has been a controversy in linguistic literature to determine the underlying reasons for 'readjustments' in the consonant system of English in Indian English, especially the initial / p, t, k /. Rao does not consider that the L₁ s and the process of transfer can be the main reason. "The real explanation

lies elsewhere. It is in the way that English is taught in India, and in the way English is spelt.”⁵⁹ Pandit suggests that “the non-realization of aspirated voiceless allophones of the phonemes /p, t, k / by Indian speakers should be interpreted in the larger framework of the consonant systems of English and Indian languages. Most of the Indian languages (except Assamese and perhaps Tamil-Malayalam) have a five-way position contrast from bilabial to velar and a four-way manner contrast of voiceless v. voiced, and unaspirated v. aspirated in the stop consonant series.”⁶⁰ We might then say that certain features, such as series substitutions (e.g., retroflex series for alveolar series), are typically Indian: other features may depend both on the competence of speakers in English and on their L₁ backgrounds.

Non-segmental Phonemes

The main phonological features of Indian English, which separate it from the L₁ varieties of English, are not necessarily the deviations in the segmental phonemes but the deviations in stress, rhythm, intonation, etc. It is obvious that the intelligibility between an L₁ speaker of English and an Indian English speaker suffers much because of the second type of deviation. Usmani has given an analysis of non-segmental features of Urdu and English.⁶¹ Passé has discussed certain non-segmental features of some varieties of South Asian English. The main points of Passé are:

1. All stressing in Lankan English is comparatively weak, as ‘stress (or force accent)’ is comparatively weak in Sinhalese and Tamil.
2. There is no vowel reduction.
3. There is no distinction between strong and weak forms.
4. The English words are ‘incorrectly’ stressed.⁶²

The observations of Usmani on the role of stress in Urdu and English are naive and misleading. He gives the following rules for the stress pattern of Urdu:

1. Single-syllable words with short vowels are slightly less loud than those with long vowels:

/mɪl/ 'mix'

/mi:l/ 'mile'

2. Polysyllabic words have an 'even scale of stress' if all syllables have short vowels:

/'bʌr tʌn/ 'pot'

3. Polysyllabic word have louder stress on the long vowels if they have short and long vowels:

/zə'mɑ:nə:/ 'period'

Usmani concludes, that "Urdu stress depends in some cases upon the length of the vowels. In general the stress pattern is very simple and kept to the even scale of loudness." His analysis of the intonation of Urdu is equally superficial and misleading (e.g., "A comparative study... shows that Urdu and English follow the pitch patterns.")⁶³

Gopalkrishnan's observation on the English spoken by South Indians also applies to the Tamil-speaking Lankans. His main points are summarized below:

1. A general unawareness of the patterns of primary as well as secondary stress, e.g.,

/'mækbeθ/ for /mek'beθ/; /'tju:ʃtʌn/ for /tju:'ɪʃn/

2. A tendency to ignore differentiating the stress patterns of nouns and adjectives on the one hand verbs on the other hand.
3. An unawareness of the shift in stress found in different parts of speech derived from the 'same Latin or Greek root.'⁶⁴

Taylor's study, "The Indian English Stress System," is based on a widely spoken North Indian language (Hindi.) The North Indian English stress features, however, are not different from what Gopalkrishnan has written about Dravidian English. Taylor's tentative conclusion, subject to the findings of much wider speech samplings, may be summed up as follows:

The Hindi L₁ speakers of English tend to give generally stronger and more nearly equal stress to the unstressed and weak syllables of English. Their

stress distribution and points of juncture tend to be unpredictable. Within the overall framework of relatively stronger stress for unstressed and weak forms, the observed speech samples indicate the following deviations:

1. A tendency in some instances to place stress on the suffix itself and in other instances randomly rather than where predictable on the penultimate syllable.
2. A tendency to accord weak-strong stress to nouns as well as verbs in the group of two-syllable words showing grammatical contrast through stress.
3. A general lack of recognition of the primary/tertiary patterns of stress for compound nouns as opposed to the secondary/primary pattern used with free noun/noun combinations; a tendency to use the secondary/primary pattern of both.
4. A strong tendency to give full value to auxiliary verb forms written as contractions, and to accord them a relatively strong stress as well.
5. A strong tendency to break up grammatical units arbitrarily within sentences, thus violating the confines of 'sense groups' and placing a strong stress on words other than those normally found to have 'sense stress.'⁶⁵

It may be mentioned here that the underlying reasons for the deviations in stress are the following: all main Indian languages are syllable-timed languages, as opposed to English, which is a stress-timed language. This results in a distinct Indian rhythm in Indian English, which is based on arranging long and short syllables, and not stressed and unstressed syllables. This may be the main reason for labeling South Asian English or Indian English as 'sing-song' English, and for stating that it hampers intelligibility with the L₁ speakers of English.

Thus, we can say that these typical features of South Asian stress and rhythm, rather than the segmental phonemes, mark a typical South Asian English speaker.

Indian accents vary greatly from those leaning more towards a purist British to those leaning more towards a more 'vernacular' (Indian language)-tinted speech. The most ubiquitous instance of modified sounds is the morphing of alveolar English 'd', 't' and 'r' sounds to more retroflex variants. South Indians tend to curl the tongue more for 'l' and 'n' sounds, while Bengalis (from both India and Bangladesh) and Biharis often substitute 'j' for 'z' (as in 'jero' instead of 'zero'.) Subcontinentals, especially those from the Sindh (of both India and Pakistan), have the habit of changing 'w' sounds to 'v' (as in 'ven' instead of 'when') and vice versa ("I will pay with Weeza" for "...Visa.")

The important features of phonological differences between Indian English and Received Pronunciation (RP) of the London region (and even with most other dialects of Standard English) include:

- All native languages of India (including Hindi itself) lack the voiced postalveolar fricative (/ʒ/). Consequently, /z/ or /dʒ/ is substituted, e.g. treasure /trɛ.zə:r/.
- Standard Hindi, most other vernaculars and hence General Indian English lack the difference between /v/ (voiced labiodental fricative) and /w/ (voiced labiovelar approximant). Instead, most Indians use a frictionless labio-dental approximant, close to /v/, for both v and w graphemes. So wine is pronounced like vine. All consonants are distinctly doubled in General Indian English wherever the spelling suggests so. e.g., drilling /dril ling/.
- Inability to pronounce certain (especially word-initial) consonant clusters by people of rural background, and hence modification. e.g., school /is ku:l/.

- All native languages of India, and hence General Indian English, lack the phonemes /θ/ (voiceless dental fricative) and /ð/ (voiced dental fricative). Hence, the aspirated voiceless dental plosive /t^h/ is substituted for /θ/ and the unaspirated voiced dental plosive /d/ is substituted for /ð/. This can create confusions like themselves being heard by native English speakers as damsels.
- In RP, word-initial and syllable initial p, t and k are slightly aspirated, but in native Indian languages (except Tamil), the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated plosives is very stark and phonemic. Generally, Indian English speakers use the unaspirated voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/ although they may deal with the allophones as separate phonemes, which is not as apparent to native speakers.
- A very stark feature of General Indian English is the use of retroflex plosives (/ʈ/, /ɖ/) instead of the corresponding alveolar plosives of English (/t/ and /d/). In Indian languages there are two entirely distinct sets of coronal plosives: one dental and the other retroflex. To the Indian ears, the English alveolar plosives sound more like retroflex than dental. In Devanagari script of Hindi, all alveolar plosives of English are transcribed as their retroflex counterparts. One good reason for this is that unlike most other native Indian languages, Hindi does not have true retroflex plosives. The so-called retroflexes in Hindi are actually articulated as apical post-alveolar plosives, sometimes even with a tendency to come down to the alveolar region. So a Hindi speaker normally cannot distinguish the difference between their own apical post-alveolar plosives and English's alveolar plosives phonemically. However, languages such as Tamil have true retroflex plosives, wherein the articulation is done with the tongue curved upwards and backwards at the roof of the mouth.
- RP English is a stress-timed language, and word stress is an important feature of Received Pronunciation. Indian-English speakers regularly

put the stress accents at the wrong syllables, or accentuate all the syllables of a long English word, since stress is not considered an essential part of pronunciation by them (Indian native languages are actually syllable-timed languages like Latin and French. Also, Indian English speakers speak English with a peculiar pitch-accent, which makes Indian-English sound like a sing-song voice to non-Indian English speakers. Indians also have problems with other supra-segmental features of English.

- Sometimes, Indian speakers interchange /s/ and /z/, especially when plurals are being formed. It suffices to note that in Hindi (but not Urdu) and Sanskrit, /z/ does not exist (as also any other voiced sibilant.) So /z/ may even be pronounced as /dʒ/ by people of rural backgrounds. Again, in dialects like Bhojpuri, all instances of /ʃ/ are spoken like /s/, a phenomenon which is also visible in their English. Exactly the opposite is seen for many Bengalis.
- In case of the postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ /dʒ/, the native languages like Hindi have corresponding affricates articulated from the palatal region, rather than postalveolar, and they have more of a stop component than fricative; this is reflected in the Indian English.
- While retaining /ŋ/ in the final position, Indian speakers usually add a /g/ after it. Hence /rɪŋ ɪŋ/ → /rɪŋ ɡɪŋ/ (ringing).
- Syllabic /l/, /m/ and /n/ are usually replaced by the VC clusters /əl/, /əm/ and /ən/ (as in button /buʔ.tən/), or if a high vowel preceeds, by /il/ (as in little /lɪt.ɪl/). Syllable nuclei in words with the spelling *er* (a schwa in RP and a r-colored schwa in GA) are also replaced VC clusters. e.g., *meter*, /mi:tə(ɹ)/ → /mi:tər/.
- General Indian English has long monophthongs /e:/ and /o:/ instead of R.P. glided diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ (or /əu/); this variation is quite valid in General American English.

- Many Indian English speakers do not make a clear distinction between /ɛ/ and /æ/ and between /ʊ/ and /ʊ:/. (*cot-caught merger*)
- As against R.P. /ʌ/, /ə/ and /ɜ:/, General Indian English has only one vowel /ə/ (schwa.)
- In R.P., /r/ occurs only before a vowel. But in much of General Indian English, being a Scottish-influenced rhotic accent uses a sharp alveolar trill /r/ in almost all positions in words as dictated by the spellings. Indian speakers do not use the retroflex approximant /ɻ/ for r, as opposed to many American speakers.
- Indian speakers convert gh digraphs to aspirated voiced velar plosive /g^h/. e.g., ghost /g^ho:st/. But rough, dough, etc. are pronounced as in RP.
- English words borrowed from French are pronounced in RP with a proper French pronunciation, but in India, such words are sometimes pronounced according to the rules of English pronunciation. e.g., bouquet /bu. kɛt/ or /bau kwɛt/.
- Many Indian speakers always pronounce the as /ði:/, irrespective of the fact whether the definite article comes before a vowel or a consonant, or whether it is stressed or not.

In total, such discrepancies exist in General Indian English because, first, Indians tend to look up to their own rich phonology for the nearest approximations of English phonemes, and second, because they by and large tend to follow English pronunciation as it appears through the English spelling. This is because all Indian scripts are highly phonemic alpha-syllabic scripts.

3.3.2 Lexis of Indian English

In lexis we may include two characteristic types of Indian vocabulary. The first is concerned with that part of lexis, which is, by and large, nonshared with those varieties of English, which are used as the L_1 . The other comprises those items, which are transferred from the Indian languages lexicon of English. We have divided this section into following sub sections:

- I Linguistic Creativity, in which we will discuss *-ing* ending coinages, *-ed* ending coinages, Loan translations, Clichés, Nativization and Hybridization.
- II Linguistic Economy.
- III Semantic Manipulation.

I Linguistic Creativity in Indian English

(i) ***-ing* type Coinages:** The choice of bound morpheme *-ing* to structure lexical items is an instance of free variation in Indian English in so far it is not conditioned by semantic or structural compulsions, and is variable in occurrence in terms of performing skill of participants. Nevertheless, the choice of *-ing* type lexical structures are a typical ingredient of Indian English's lexis. Consider the following illustrations, taken from news stories (NS), editorials (ED), 'letters to the editorial' (LT) and matrimonial advertisements (AD), taken from national and provincial dailies in India.

- (i) ...the cooperation...in the...task of ensuring the objectivity of approach so essential ...(ED)
- (ii) there were...reports of booth-capturing/land-grabbing...(NS)

In both the examples, the choice of *-ing* morpheme to structure lexical items is free of any constraint, structural or semantic. In (i), 'ensuring has replaced the normal 'ensurement' (which would of course go with the preposition 'of') despite both having identical meaning and identical structures, 'verb → noun'. Similarly, in (ii), 'booth-capturing'/'land-grabbing' have been preformed to 'booth-capture'/'land grab' though both the pairs of parallel items have identical meaning and identical structure, being hyphenated

compounds with 'noun + noun' structure. In both the clipped instances of lexical items, the choice of *-ing* morpheme to structure them does not being about a change in the grammatical category (word-class) of the relevant word, thus suggesting the inflectional nature of linguistic creativity. This pattern of creativity seems to derive from the over-all English situation, which is pooled, is small measure by non-journalists. In the examples given below, the pattern is clearly reinforced by non-journalists:

- (iii) Shifting of blame...is of no avail (LT)
- (iv) I required the Chief Minister ...to play the national anthem before the starting of ...film...(LT)
- (v) Rail track, rail coaches...and the brak ing system...are all scientifically designed ...(LT)
- (vi) graduate girl...smart looking...(AD)
- (vii) ...home loving...(AD)
- (viii) for Bombay based...girl ...non-working ...(AD)
- (ix) ...working girls...(AD)
- (x) Rainy season witnesses water- logging on the main road ...(LT)
- (xi) ...the water logging culminated in the tumbling down of the houses... (LT)

The words suffixed with *-ing* morpheme to structure lexical items above do not have a dictionary entry in the structure, word-class (noun (N)/adjective (Adj)) and sense in which they appear here.⁶⁶ They are thus typical instances of Indianism. Their Indianism is underscored by their common *-ing* morpheme suffixation, having an overwhelming pattern of inflectional productivity. This implies that the words, despite their *-ing* suffixation, retain their core grammatical category. In examples (iii) through (iv) above, the words with *-ing* suffixes are preferred to the ones without it, or with a different suffix as in (vi), though all the lexical structures, with/without *-ing* or some other suffix, stay put to the same word-class. Listed below are *-ing* suffixed words from relevant lexical items alongside their root words/normal structure and their respective word-class:

- (iii) *shifting* (N): *shift* (N)
- (iv) *starting* (N): *start* (N)
- (v) *braking* (N): *brake* (N)
- (vi) *smart looking* (N): *smart looker* (N)

Both in terms of meaning and word-class these *-ing* suffixed words are identical and interchangeable with those without *-ing* suffix, or with *-er*, suffix as in (vi). These words thus share the structural pattern preferred, though marginally, by journalists as in (i) and (ii) above. In as much as these *-ing* suffixed items do not involve a change in their core-word-class, or a coinage of a different word within the same word-class, or a semantic difference, they are all instances of 'zero-inflectional productivity.' Their functional value of *-ing* suffix as an indicator of progressive aspect of meaning is also, going by the context, out of question here. Though *-ing* type zero-inflectional productivity is shared by journalists as well as non-journalists, thus characterizing the over all Indian English speech situation, the variant pattern of its occurrence seems to be linked with the performing skill of the participant. This explains why, as the above examples would show, non-journalists with a generally lower performing skill opt for this type of productivity more often than journalists with a fairly higher performing skill.

In (vii) though (ix), the option for *-ing* suffixed words to constitute lexical items, again, does not entail a change in their word-class though it involves a measure of semantic difference:

- (vii) *home loving* (Adj) : *loving* (Adj)
- (viii) *non-working* (Adj) : *working* (Adj)
- (ix) *working* (Adj) girls : *working* (Adj)

In (vii) and (viii), the hyphenated lexical items, 'home-*loving*' and 'non-*working*' respectively, are structured by recourse to *-ing* suffixed words, '*loving*' and '*working*', and apparently do not seem to be nonce formations. Their functional value, however, emerges as they are hyphenated with free

and bound morphemes, 'home' and 'non' respectively, to give rise to lexical items with new meanings. The items, 'home loving' and 'non-working', respectively refer in Indian English to the girl 'who would make herself a good housewife', and one 'who is not in service.' Likewise, *-ing* type inflectional productivity gains in meaning in (ix). Here, 'working girls' refers to 'the girls in service', as contrasted with 'working men' who work with their hands, especially in a trade.⁶⁷ The option for *-ing* suffixed lexical items remains, nevertheless, free of semantic and structural compulsions in as much as the lexicon has synonymous or near-synonymous items to replace them: for instance, 'home-loving' by 'domestic'; 'non-working' by 'unemployed', and 'working' by 'inservice'. In the light of this, the items in (vii) through (ix) may be called instances of *-ing* type 'optional- inflectional productivity.'

By contrast, *-ing* type lexical structures in (x) and (xi) are placed in a different scheme of linguistic productivity, and thus need to be discussed separately. In (xi) Indian English's striking preference for *-ing* type lexical constructions would alone explain the option for 'tumbling + down' to the preclusion of a commoner word, 'collapse'. Though 'tumbling-down' would have fitted well into the pattern of 'optional inflectional productivity' as 'tumbling of the houses', the structure, "tumbling + down of the houses", involves collocative clash of a complex nature since 'tumbling' normally goes with 'prices' and 'tumble-down' structure is directly patterned here on the preceding item 'water-logging', which is thoroughly nativized in Indian English. However, the *-ing* suffixation here belongs to a special type of lexical productivity, which may be called 'quasi-optional-inflectional type', in as much as both the *-ing* suffixed words in 'tumbling (N) down of the houses' and 'tumbling (N) of the houses' retain the same word-class.

The most prominent of all the *-ing* type Indianisms above is 'water logging' in (x) and (xi), which recurs in Indian English speech situation irrespective of performing skill of participants. The *-ing* type lexical productivity in 'water-logging' is of a special sort : the item is structured by clipping -ed of the

existing item 'water-logged', and suffixation of *-ing* morpheme in its place one non-existent base/root word 'water log'. Were it a case of routine suffixation, as from 'water logged' to *water logging', not involving a non-existent base word, the identification of the word-class of 'water-logging' would not have posed any etymological problem. But given the form of the word its word-class may be identified with reference to its functional value in the syntactic structure, which is that of noun phrase (NP) functioning as either subject (S) or object (O), and derived from the embedded NP structures which contain the existing item 'water-logged', as is shown below:

- (x) Rainy season witnesses: (that) the area is *water-logged* (Adj)...
- (that) the main road is *water-logged* (Adj)
- (O and NP clause structure)
- : *water-logged* area
- (O and NP (-clause structure)
- : *water-logging*
- (O and N)
- (xii) (That) the area is *water-logged* (Adj)/
- (That) the main road is *water-logged* (Adj)
- (S and NP (clause structure)
- water-logged* area
- (S and NP (-clause structure)

water-logging (S and N) culminated in tumbling down of the houses...

Thus, whereas the functional value of 'water logging' derived from the embedded NP (+/-clause) structures, helps identify its word class (N), the morphemic replacement of *-ed* by *-ing* ('water-logged' by 'water-logging') involving back-formation ('water-log') typifies its lexical structure. Both ways, the structure of 'water-logging' is derivational in nature, involving morphological re-structuring, syntactic transformation and change of word-class (from '*water-logged*' (Adj) to '*water-logging*' (N)) 'Water-logging', therefore, is an instance of 'replacive-derivational productivity.'

Indian writers in English have explored this resourcefulness to a great extent:

- (i) I am doing my duty (*The Railway Clerk*)
'be do + -ing' form is used instead of only 'do.'
- (ii) I am discharging it properly (*The Railway Clerk*)
'be discharge + -ing' is used in place of only 'discharge.'

In the above examples, present progressive (continuous) is used instead of simple present tense to denote habitual action.⁶⁸

- (iii) The angeling of Babar must have been just complete by the time of his death ... (*Shame*, 132)

In the above example, the noun angel becomes an expressive, highly physical verb.

- (iv) Eat, na, food is spoiling(*Midnight's Children*, 24)
- (v) ..., to need all this writing-shiting? (*Midnight's Children*, 24)
- (vi) ..., to abandon even for a moment this darkling pickle factory where the smell of spices...(*Midnight's Children*, 28)
- (vii) Let the walls be splashed with our inaccurate expectorating (*Midnight's Children*, 45)
- (viii) Memory of a mildewing photograph... (*Midnight's Children*, 44)
- (ix) ...ganjing, they would afford to ... (*A Suitable Boy*, 45)

Some vernacular verbal stems ending in -ing have been used by Mulk Raj Anand as English verbal forms with definite English suffixes:

- (x) He put my brief-case into the tonga and, without salaaming or anything... (*A Confession of a Lover*)

Newspaper and magazine journalists also employ this strategy to add more flavor to their articles as it makes them look catchier. For example:

- (xi) Dumping too much on your man? (*Femina* Cover Page, May 1, 2005)
- (xii) Mapping futures (*The Education Times*, Oct. 3, 2005)
- (xiii) Overflowing Ganga (*The Times of India*, Sep. 7, 2006)

- (xiv) Business class travel. Now with power dressing (*The Hindustan Times*, Sep. 6, 2006)
- (xv) 24-hour cricket channel in offing (*The Hindustan Times*, Sep. 6, 2006)

Similarly, words like, nearshoring (with Us hi-tech jobs going to offshore operations in India, China and Russia, Canadian firms offer themselves as a nearshore alternative) and phishing (a new kind of spam flooded inboxes, masquerading as email from legitimate businesses and aiming to get recipients to divulge personal info. The practice of phishing (from fishing and phreak) has existed for five years, but has now become commonplace.)⁶⁹

(ii) **-ed type coinages:** The preponderant choice of *-ed* suffix to form adjectival lexical items is a feature markedly restrictive in Indian Newspaper English to the register of AD. Though the choice prominently typifies AD its recurrence in over-all Indian English speech situation in accordance with situation-type underlines it as a type of common Indianism. The *-ed* suffixed items, like *-ing*-suffixed ones, are also typical Indianisms as they, too, do not have an entry in the lexicon in the structure, word-class and sense in which they appear in Indian English. However, *-ing* type and *-ed* type of Indian English lexical productivity stand out distinct from each other in that the former is generally independent of structural and semantic compulsions while the latter is generally conditioned by them. The option for *-ed* suffixed items, as shown by AD, is explicitly intended to gain both structural economy and information focus. In the process, these items usually undergo a change of word-class and semantic shift befitting Indian context. While some of these *-ed* structured items are nonce formations which may appear structurally odd and even semantically opaque in British English, others already in the lexicon, acquire their stylistic significance simply because their recurrence reinforces the pattern of Indian English's overwhelming preference for *-ed* suffixed adjectival items. All *-ed* suffixed adjectival items in the data of this study showed an all-out choice for derivational productivity, involving a

change of word-class, from (V) – (Adj), and (N) – (Adj), in that order. The pattern of their derivational productivity, though marked by a range of variations, falls into two broad categories, featuring: (a) normal/probable lexical productivity; and (b) distinctive lexical productivity characterized by structural oddity and semantic opaqueness. The items in the former category gain their stylistic value in terms of frequency of occurrence that reinforces the pattern of novelty set by those in the latter. Consider the following items from the latter category, which are highly typical Indianisms, both structurally and semantically.

AD:

- (i) employed in Delhi
- (ii) employed in England
- (iii) stable charactered...spinster...stable charactered bachelors
- (iv) sweet natured girl

NS/ED

- (v) bonded labor

All these -ed suffixed items are nonce formations, aimed at structural economy and information focus. Their structure prefers evenly the derivational patterns (V) → (Adj)/(Adj), as in (i) and (ii), and (N) → (adj), as in (iii) through (v). In (i) and (ii), the item 'employed' implying here in employment used as an adjective is derivational in two ways. In the first place, it seems to derive from the 'unemployed' (Adj) through clipping of its prefix un-resulting its nonce formation in the same word-class (Adj) in the pattern, say, of 'polite' (Adj) → 'impolite' (Adj). Secondly, it appears to derive from the prepositional verb 'employ in', which involves change of word class, from (V) → (Adj), though with a variation. Since the prepositional verb 'employ in' always anticipates a direct object (O_d) as in the sentence 'She was employed in watering the garden',⁷⁰ the omission of O_d as well as that of the preposition in renders the clipped item 'employed' structurally odd and semantically opaque. *in* in (i) and (ii) combines with the

adjunct of place, *in Delhi/in England* and not with the prepositional verb, as in 'employ in'. In AD, the nonce item 'employed (in)' is clearly structured to highlight the state of being 'in employment' (as against that of unemployment) rather than the nature of one's employment (low-paid/lucrative, etc) as is highlighted by the prepositional verb 'employed (+ in) (something)'. Obviously, the Indianism 'employed' (Adj) focuses the Indian concern for employment (service), whatever be its nature. Next, the Indian concern extends to the place of employment (metropolitan city, an affluent country, etc.), instead of the nature of employment. This explains why the item 'employed' prefers in Indian English an adjunct of place (*in Delhi/in England*) to an O_d (for instance, 'in business'), though both are mutually replaceable in terms of structural economy.

In (iii) and (iv) *-ed* suffixation helps narrow down focus on adjectival clusters through their attributive position in the lexical items. The adjectival clusters are so focused as to prominently specify the disposition of the spinster/bachelor/girl. The *-ed* suffixed items thus become typical Indianisms, characterized by structural oddity and semantic opaqueness in British English. In British English, 'character' does not accept *-ed-* suffixation, but in Indian English, as in (iii) *-ed-*suffixation is a device of adjectivising 'character', of changing its word-class from (N) 'character' (Adj) 'chatacter' *ed*; to a specific purpose. The choice of 'charactered' is intended, not merely for structural economy, but more plausibly, for securing prominent attributive position to the adjectival cluster formed by it. Consider *-ed*-suffixed items in (iii) as contrasted with those without *-ed* suffixation, having normal lexical structure:

- (iii) stable charactered ... spinster: 'spinster of stable character'
 stable charactered ...bachelors: 'bachelors of stable character'

The *of*-genitive constructions suggested above are quite normal, structurally as well as informatively, though they have a longer structure and neutral end-focus on *of*-prepositional phrase. By contrast, *-ed* suffixation meets with

registral requirements of the text (AD) here by having a shorter structure for the lexical items and sharper focus on adjectival clusters through their front attributive position.

In (iv), *-ed* suffixation is again expedient for both structural economy and information focus as will be apparent when 'sweet natured girl' is contrasted with 'girl of sweet nature'. Besides, the item also involves derivational productivity: 'sweet *nature* (N) 'sweet natured (Adj), patterned on such analogous British English items as 'good/ill-natured', 'bad-tempered', 'well-behaved', 'ill-mannered', etc.

In (v), the lexical item 'bonded labor', though structurally analogous to British English items 'bonded wood' and 'bonded goods',⁷¹ semantically stands out as a typical Indianism. It implies 'a labor who is bound by a bond to serve his master until he repays him his outstanding loan. The recourse to *-ed* suffixation to structure 'bonded labor', in preference to available, albeit archaic, British English pattern to structure, without *-ed* suffixation, such words as 'bond man, bond servant, bond slave',⁷² is therefore an instance of positive Indian English creativity in several ways: first, the item conveys a meaning quite a few shades different from the one associated with 'bond man/servant/slave'; secondly, it involves a change of word-class, from (N) → bond → (Adj) 'bonded', for reasons of structural brevity and information focus; and thirdly, the derivational productivity here also shares pattern congruity with Indian English's recurrent option of *-ed*-suffixed items. In as much as the *-ed*-suffixed items from (i) through (v) above feature Indian English's communicative efficacy involving a change of word-class, they are all instances of Indianisms of derivational productivity of a positive type.

Some of the typical *-ed* type Indianisms, briefly discussed above, help identify and characterize the general pattern of Indian English's option for *-ed*-suffixed adjectival clusters. This pattern is reinforced further by the frequent recurrence in Indian English of such *-ed* suffixed adjectival clusters as feature normal/probable lexical productivity characterized by a relative

absence of structural oddity and /or semantic opaqueness. These adjectival clusters, too are instances of *-ed* type Indianisms, though essentially in terms of their frequency of occurrence than in those of their typical structure and meaning. The choice of *-ed* suffixation here nonetheless remains functionally the same as in (i) through (v), as one of both structural brevity and information focus, as the following would show.

AD

- (vi) well-placed groom
- (vii) career-oriented ... girl
- (viii) broad-minded...girl
- (ix) open-minded...family: contrast with 'moderately modern' family
- (x) convent educated ...girl
- (xi) Bombay based ...girl

All the *-ed*-suffixed items above have a derivational structure, and all but those if, (vii) and (ix) involve a change of word-class. The British English derivational items, 'broad-minded' (viii) and 'open-minded' (ix), already in current usage, are a combining form with the same word class (Adj) — (Adj). They are nonetheless stylistically significant in Indian English for their semantic shift as well as for sharing the pattern congruity with other-*ed*-suffixed Indian English adjectival clusters. The items acquire distinctly identical meaning in Indian English, implying 'a girl/family free of restrictions and taboos of conservative Indian society by which most Indians are bound',⁷³ in sharp contrast to British English's implications of the items, 'broad-minded' and 'open-minded', respectively: 'being tolerant or liberal in thought or opinion',⁷⁴ and 'with open mind, unprejudiced.'⁷⁵

The adjectival clusters in (vi), (vii) and (x) are, by contrast, instances of Indian English's derivational productivity involving a change of word-class marked by non-entry in the lexicon in the structure and sense in which they recur in Indian English. In (vi) and (vii), *-ed* suffixation has a two fold derivational function in forming the adjectival clusters. First, it changes the

word-class of the relevant words of the adjectival clusters so as to meet Indian English communication requirements, from 'place' (V) 'placed' (Adj), and from 'orient' (V) 'oriented' (Adj). Secondly, the words thus formed with *-ed* suffixation are combined with other words to form typical Indianisms with/without a change of word-class : 'well-placed', (Adj)→(Adj), and 'career oriented', (N) → (Adj).⁷⁶ In (x), the existing *-ed* suffixed adjective 'educated' is combined with 'convent' to derive the typical adjective cluster 'convent educated' involving in the process a change of word-class, (N) → (Adj). The adjectival cluster in (xi), 'Bombay-based', is again a combining form on the British English derivational pattern as in 'broad-minded/open-minded', though the cluster here is marked by a change of word-class (N) → (Adj). It thus seems that the choice of *-ed* suffixation in Indian English even in those adjectival clusters as feature Indian English's probable derivational productivity invariably involves a change of word-class of the relevant words whereas *-ed* -suffixed Indian English adjectival items patterned on British English lexical structures may or may not feature a change of word-class.

This suggests a pattern, more of convergence than contrast. All the *-ed*-suffixed adjectival clusters, featuring normal British English or probable (Indian English) lexical productivity, appear classed together by their common choice of derivational structures and their semantic clarity. Even such adjectival items which are typical of Indian English insofar as they do not have a dictionary entry in the structure and sense in which they appear in Indian English, as in (vi), (vii) and (x), would readily unfold their meaning in terms of their predicative structure, which is not the case with the more typical Indian English adjectival items in (i) through (v) which are marked by derivational productivity of a positive type, involving both structural oddity and semantic opaqueness. Consider the following instances of *-ed* type probable (Indian English's) lexical productivity as in contrast to those featuring positive (Indian English's) lexical productivity in terms of their structure and meaning:

Predicative structure/Interpretation

- (a)(vi) well-placed groom : 'groom placed well (in life)', or
'well-off groom'

contrast with

- (i) employed in Delhi : 'employed (in/as?) in Delhi'
(ii) employed in England : 'employed (in/as?) in England'
(b) (vii) career-oriented girl : 'girl oriented to her career' or
'career girl'

contrast with

- (iv) sweet natured girl : 'girl sweetly natured'?
or 'girl natured with sweetness'?
(c) (x) convent educated girl : 'girl educated at convent(school)'

contrast with

- (iii) stable characterized
spinster/bachelor : 'spinster/bachelor
character-ed in a stable way'?
(d) (ix) Bombay based girl : 'girl based/stationed in Bombay'

contrast with

- (v) bonded labor : 'labor bonded (like
wood/goods)'

It is easier to predict meanings of the adjectival items in (vi), (vii), (ix) and (x), featuring probable lexical productivity, than of those in (i) through (v), featuring positive lexical productivity, even though all of these items are typical Indianisms of *-ed* type derivational productivity. The difference between the probable and positive types of Indian English's *-ed* structured derivational productivity is thus clearly one of both structure and meaning. Though both types of *-ed* productivity characterize over-all Indian English speech situation, it is the positive type that seems to be more typical and predictable of Indian English than the probable one, especially because of its generic contribution of to Indian English's lexicon, in structural as well semantic terms, in contradistinction to that of British English, as the foregoing

illustrations would suggest. It is again to this efficacious types of lexical productivity that such *-ed*-suffixed Indianisms ‘bonded labor’ and ‘well-placed well settled well-established, etc’, belong, that help open up a whole vista of variegated Indian socio-cultural reality, even in a non native language.⁷⁷

Newspaper and magazine journalists also employ this strategy to add more flavor to their articles as it makes them look catchier. For example:

- (vi) Ronaldinho-ed (*The Times of India*, Mar. 9, 2006)
- (vii) Punjab adjudged India’s Best State (*The Hindustan Times*, Sep. 6, 2006)
- (viii) Rain fury: jammed J & K on alert (*The Times of India*, Sep. 4, 2006)
- (ix) Kajol dolled up (*The Times of India*, Sep.7, 2006)

Indian English writers have explored this resourcefulness to a great extent:

- (i) ...kababed saints and tandooried martyrs... (*The Moor’s Last Sigh*, 26)
- (ii) ...kali tongued... (*The Moor’s Last Sigh*, 65)
- (iii) ...kurta-pajamed... (*The Ground beneath her Feet*, 65)
- (iv) ...a tube of mildewed Vick’s inhaler (*Midnight’s Children*, 31)
- (v) Mesmerized by this brandied portrait of a bald, gluttonous Christ,... (*Midnight’s Children*, 16)

(iii) **Loan Translations:** Translation is establishing equivalent, or partially equivalent, formal items at any rank in L_2 for the formal items of L_1 . In a language contact situation translation may be of the following two major types:

A. Rank-bound: In rank-bound translation a writer translates formal items of L_1 at the ‘same’ rank into L_2 (That is if we presuppose that the number of units in the two languages is the same.)

In the following examples in Indian English the unit ‘word’ (Compound) in L_1 has been translated at the ‘same’ rank into L_2 : *gopuja* ‘cow-worship’ (*The*

Voice of God, 122); *grih-devata* 'family protector'; *ishwar-prem* 'god-love' (*Untouchable*, 205); *katidora* 'waist-thread' (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 190); the unit 'group' (class 'nominal') has been transferred as follows: *ghorardim* 'horse's egg'; *motiyamda badshah* 'king of pearls' (*Train to Pakistan*, 90). A few examples are given below from the formal items of higher ranks from speech functions and phatic communion.

- (1) May the fire of your ovens consume you (*Coolie*) (bhatthi me ja);
- (2) Where does your wealth reside? (*Train to Pakistan*) (apka daulakhana kaha hai?);
- (3) What honorable noun does your honour bear? (*Train to Pakistan*) (apka shubh nam kya hai?);
- (4) Beat me on my head till I go bald (*Coolie*) (kur kur ke mainu ganja-karde)

These are the examples of what may be termed *ornamental style* and are restricted to Indian English creative writing. The sources again are the L₁ items. The above (2) and (3) respectively mean: 'Where do you live?' and 'What is your name?'

B. Rank-Changed: In rank-changed translation the item of L₁ are translated at different ranks into L₂. This may be transfer at a higher rank or a lower rank. The following items of the word rank have been transferred into L₂ at the rank of group (nominal): *bhaiya-duj* 'brother-anointing ceremony' (*He Who Rides a Tiger*); *shuddhi* 'cleansing bath'; *godhuli* 'cow-dust hour'; *mundane samskar* 'hair-cutting ceremony' (*Kanthapura*); *bad-baxt* 'you of evil star' (*Untouchable*.)

There are other items, which do not involve a rank change. In such item words of L₁ are transferred as compound words: e.g., *pattal* 'dining leaf' (*Waiting for the Mahatma*, 84); *tilak* 'forehead-marking' (*Mr. Sampath*, 206); *janeo* 'holy thread'; *coti* 'tuft-knot' (*Coolie*, 180).

Further, the process of Indianization of the English language has formally resulted in Indian collocations, which are sometimes termed as Indianisms. The Indianisms will include the following types of formations:

- a. those which are transferred from Indian languages into Indian English : e.g. the confusion of caste (*Kanthapura*, 51), 'varnasankara'; dung wash (*A Silence of Desire*, 101), 'lepan'; chapatti like cakes (*Midnight's Children*, 32), 'lepan';
- b. those which are not necessarily transferred but are only collocationally unusual according to an L₁ user of English e.g., salt- giver (*Kanthapura*, 32), rape-sister (*The Big Heart*, 46);
- c. those which are formed on the analogy of natively used forms of English, and hence, in a lesser degree are collocationally deviant (e.g., black money (*One Thousand Nights on a Bed of Stone*, 43) on the analogy of black market); and
- d. those which are formally nondeviant but are *culture bound*. Such formations amount to an introduction of a new register by writers in Indian English, and extend the register range of such items (e.g., flower- bed (*Music for Mohini*, 109); government (*Train to Pakistan*, 40).

Here, 'flower-bed' is rank-bound in the sense that the L₁ and L₂ items belong to the same unit ('word', compound), but in addition to this, it has another characteristic: it is item-bound, too. That means that the writer, B. Bhattacharya has translated the lexical items phul (flower) and shujja (bed) and has used flower-bed in the same contextual unit in which 'phul-shujja' operates in Bengali culture. This results in contextual ambiguity in English, since the item 'flower-bed' is restricted to the register of gardening in English. This difficulty of register confusion could be resolved by translating it as 'nuptial-bed' which would be rank-bound translation but not item bound; hence there would be no contextual difficulty. The use of 'government' (transfer of Hindi/Urdu sarkar) involves a change of register; in "Government,

she knows nothing about drinks. She is hardly sixteen and completely innocent.”(*Train to Pakistan*, 90)

According to Kachru, following four speech functions are selected to illustrate the transfer of form-context components:

- (a) Abuses and curses: You eater of your masters (*Coolie*, 18); you goose faced minion (*Kanthapura*, 31); may thy womb be dead (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 212); oh, you prostitute of a wind (*Kanthapura*, 170); you cock-eyed son of a bow-legged scorpion (*Untouchable*, 38); you circumcised son of a pig (*The Dark Dancer*, 202).
- (b) Greetings: bow my forehead (*Coolie*, 14); fall at your feet (*Coolie*, 16); ...blessed my hovel with the good dust of your feet (*So Many Hungers*, 55).
- (c) Blessings and Flattery: thou shalt write from an inkwell of gold (*Train to Pakistan*); draw a hundred lines on the earth with the tip of my nose (*Coolie*); your shoe and my head (*Untouchable*); Oh Maharaj, we are all lickens of your feet (*He Who Rides a Tiger*).
- (d) Modes of address and reference: cherisher of the poor (*Train to Pakistan*); king of pearls (*Train to Pakistan*); policewala (*So Many Hungers*); inspector sahib (*Train to Pakistan*); mother of my daughter (*Coolie*); jewel of jewels (*So Many Hungers*); master (*The Financial Expert*).

It may then be said that Indianism is an item of any rank used by a standard Indian English writer, which may involve either formal and/or contextual deviation.

Indian writers like Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao, R.K. Narayan and Khushwant Singh, among others use phrases like spoiler of my salt, sister sleeper etc, it doesn't make their English substandard nor does it mean that these words necessarily have a high frequency in Indian English (spoken or written). They use such words or expressions as a stylistic device for creating contextually and linguistically typical Indian plot and character types.

A very special use of compounding has been made by Raja Rao for creating proper noun like phrases – ‘corner house Moorthy’, etc. In *Kanthapura* Raja Rao has tried others such as ‘thread ceremony’; ‘nose pendent’; ‘bridegroom procession’; ‘country chess’ etc. In Anand’s novels it is not particularly striking. We have ‘sweeper boy’; ‘water carrier’; ‘twice born’; ‘caste-well’ and so on. Narayan has some interesting ones; ‘mud oven’; ‘worshiping room’; ‘rice cake’; ‘dining leaf’; ‘clay head’; ‘sitting plank’, etc.

Strategies such as repetition of various elements of structure – ‘child after child’; ‘bridegroom after bridegroom’; ‘rain pouring on and on’; ‘ages and ages ago’ except perhaps ‘*this* was a sin and *that* was a sin’ are common stylistic devices albeit the motivation may be different. Other strategies such as the use of fragmentation, coordination and linkage etc, are all well established stylistic devices.

(iv) **Clichés:** A cliché is “a hackneyed phrase or expression which a writer keeps in ready stock set up in his mind and puts down automatically without troubling to find an original phrase of his own.”⁷⁸ Even native writers of English have not been able to avoid clichés altogether. This, for example, is a sentence from W. Somerset Maugham’s novel *Cakes and Ale* (24); “When all’s said and done, that’s the only thing that counts”. This phrase has been used by many Indian English writers like Mulk Raj Anand in *Two Leaves and a Bud* (91), by Khushwant Singh in *Train to Pakistan*, by Arun Joshi in *The Strange Case of Billy Biswas* (50). There is little doubt that it is not possible to shun the cliché completely. They come handy and readily to a writer and, as many believe, sometimes add flavor to a writing.

Though Raja Rao’s writings are relatively free from clichés we occasionally get instances like “to tell you the truth” (*Kanthapura*, 20). One comes across “to tell the truth” in Ved Mehta’s *Delinquent Chacha* (110). Joshi’s *The Strange Case of Billy Biswas* (132), Uma Vasudev’s *The Song of Anasuya* (3) and Salman Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children* (114,301). Mulk Raj Anand’s writings are interspersed with cliché-like expressions; e.g,

the conventional phrase “wonder of all wonders” (*Coolie*, 31) and phrases “going to the dogs” (*Coolie*, 126) also in R.K. Narayan’s *The Guide*, 180) and “he had missed the bus” (*Coolie*, 262); “waxing philosophical” (*Two Leaves and a Bud*, 18), “waxed eloquent” in Narayan’s *The Guide*, (154) and “wax poetic” in Joshi’s (*The Strange Case of Billy Biswas*), “he felt like a fish out of water” (*Two Leaves and a Bud*, 26), “at a standstill” (*Two Leaves and a Bud*, 29); “discretion is the better part of valor” (*Death of a Hero*, 59).

The same goes for R.K. Narayan whose favorites phrases are the Siamese twins, “odds and ends” (*Swami and Friends*, 32, 195; *The Vendor of Sweets*, 25, 119, 158). “Odds and ends” appears to be Joshi’s favorite expression too because he has used it both in *The Foreigner* (162) and *The Strange Case of Billy Biswas* (62). Talking of Narayan’s *Swami and Friends*, it has “by and chance” (44), “beat a hasty retreat” (44), “drove home the point” (51), “half a mind” (88), “Right O” (90), “more easily said than done” (129); also in *The Strange Case of Billy Biswas*, (65), “in the pink of health” (141), “nip this tendency in the bud” (152), “stereotyped question” (169) and “he is a gem” (173).

Swami and Friends is Narayan’s first full-length work of fiction and that perhaps explains why it contains a fair sprinkling of clichés. Of the “big three”, Narayan perhaps uses more of such expressions and some of them have been used again and again. One of the possible reasons may be that simplicity is the hallmark of Narayan’s style. The following are some more examples from Narayan’s works:

“To make a clean breast of it all” (109), “like a bolt from the blue” (147), “cleared out” (205) and “bag and baggage” have been used again in his *The Bachelor of Arts* (117), “A fault-finding mood” (22), “a stone’s throw” (29), “where there was a will there was a way” (112) and “out of sight out of mind” (144): *The Bachelor Of Arts*; “Thus far and no further” (144) and “for reasons best known to them” (153), also in Uma Vasudev, *The Song of Anasuya*, (35): *A Tiger of Malgudi*; “Best chum” (6) “ravages of the time” and “a whit lost”

(42): *My Days*; “stick to the point”(139), “you have been beaten about the bush” (139), “unheard of” (143), “go to hell” (147) and “from time immemorial” (164); *The Vendor of Sweets*; “A serious blunder” (57); *The English Teacher*.

In Kamala Markandaya’s novels we come across the following clichés: “In the twinkling of an eye” (25), “next to impossible”(180): *Nectar in a Sieve*; “Umpteen babies” (49) “umpteen servants” (200), “all and sundry” (45), “at her wit’s end” (76), “cat’ll be out of the bag” (208), “she felt she was on fire” (218), “cry over split milk”(203) and “at and the of the tether”: *Two Virgins* (“near the end of the tether” in Joshi’s *The Strange Case of Billy Biswas*).

Arun Joshi’s writings also are littered with clichés: “For no accountable reason”(25), “much aplomb” (36), “some big shot”(40), “to do the needful”(65,146), “the long and the short of the story” (66), “wag your tongue”(114), “dirty linen”(79), “heard over heels”(91), “gone haywire”(92), “cooked up this cook and bull story” (204): *The Strange Case of Billy Biswas*.

“In no uncertain terms” (25), “talk of the town” (31), “something is better than nothing” (42), “to cut a long story short” (60,107), “the pros and cons of a case” (65), “in a nutshell” (68), “axe to grind” (71), “out of the ordinary” (110), “by hook or by crook”(113), “rise to the occasion”(117), “in due course” (118): *The Apprentice*, “pain in the neck” (113): *The Last Labyrinth*.

In Anita Desai’s writings we don’t get uses of this type frequently. In her *Voices in the City*, however, we get “ivory tower” (201), and “lull before storm” (226), etc. Bhabani Bhattacharya has used “played his cards well” (28), “article of faith” (9), “first things first” (34), “like a bombshell” (34), and “life is a game of cards” (79) in his *So Many Hungers* and “the less said the better” (39) in *Shadow from Ladakh*. In addition to a number of items of this nature, Khushwant Singh’s *Train to Pakistan* carries “crystal clear” and his *I Shall Not Hear the Nightingale* “who is to bell the cat” (27), Ahmed Ali’s *Ocean of Night* carries “build castles in the air (123). Sasthi Brata’s *My God Died Young* “they’ll hit the bull’s eye”. We find “facts and figures” (68), took

it for granted” (69), “classical joke” (74) and “like dead wood” in Nayantara Sahgal’s *Storm in Chandigarh*.

Instead of saying “nip it in the bud”, Raja Rao, in a characteristically Indian way, has said, “crush in the seed”. Money has been frequently used for comparisons. Also there are often hyperbolic numerical assertions – “The saying is worth a hundred thousand rupees (*Train to Pakistan*). A few other examples from Indian fiction in English are:

“As long as he is there, no one can harm a single hair of my head.”

“Where does your wealth reside, Babu Sahib? My poor home is in Jhelum district.”

“Does my lap bite you?”

“No one can stop anyone’s mouth.”

“Have you not mother or sister in your home?”

“drinking water out of the same pitcher”.

“Don’t eat my head”,

“bread of illegality”

“your good name.”

Wood has roughly classified clichés into seven broad divisions.⁷⁹ It is interesting to note that we get examples of all these types in the Indian Writings in English:

(i) Conventional Phrases or Expressions:

“the evening of the life” (*Storm in Chandigarh*, 5)

“by leaps and bounds” (*Storm in Chandigarh*, 61)

“wheel of time” (*Death of a Hero*, 26)

“janes of death” (*Death of a Hero*, 84)

(ii) The Conventional Adjective:

“Golden Promises” (Anand, *Two leaves and a Bud*, 6)

(iii) The Conventional Verb:

“the engine screamed” (*Coolie*, 174); “he shepherded them” (*Storm in Chandigarh*, 47); “the sentry barked” (*A Bend in the Ganges*; 182.) The humanizing use of the verbs “hissing” and “stabbing” seems to be very common with Indian English novelists.

(iv) The Conventional Adverb:

“The fire was blazing fiercely” (*Nectar in a Sieve*, 56) “when she had become so sheetly-white (*Midnight, Children*, 59)

“She lay dustily on her bed; we waited and feared. (*Midnight’s Children*, 273)

(v) Circumlocution:

“the edge of her tongue was like a pair of scissors”(i.e., ‘Talkative’) – (*Untouchable*); “... and yet he was as honest as an elephant” (*Kanthapura*)

(vi) Vogue Words:

“movie”-“a Bergman movie” (*The Strange Case of Billy Biswas*, 95), “fellow-travelers” (*A Bend in the Ganges*, 355), ‘jet’ — “jet of water” (*Ocean of Night*, 62), “jets of white stream” (*Voices*, 5)

(vii) Hackneyed and Pointless Similes:

“My old servant had not understood the purpose of my wanderings but had remained at his post like a dutiful Cas abianca” (*The Foreigner*, 352); “They were all staring at him making him conscious of their fear and hatred, like characters in some dance drama” (*A Bend in the Ganges*, 132). “She is like a sister to me” (*The Guide*, 78), “She was still as stone” (*The Strange Case*, 62)

(v) **Nativization (Indian locale):** By nativization of English we mean the use of native expressions and words in English structures. The process of nativization is due to the transfer from local languages as well as the new cultural environment and communicative needs.⁸⁰ Because of deep social penetration and the extended range of functions of English in diverse sociolinguistic contexts there are several varieties, localized registers and genres for articulating local social, cultural and religious identities.⁸¹ Also, factors such as the absence of a native group, inadequate teaching and acquisitional limitations (e.g. lack of exposure and facilities, learning under compulsion) contribute to the process.⁸² Scholars (such as Kachru, Halverson, Verma, Mehrotra and Sridhar) have all concluded that the South Asian varieties of English are being nativized by acquiring new identities in new socio-cultural contexts. They have emerged as autonomous local varieties with their own set of rules that make it impossible to treat them simply as mistakes of deficient Englishes.

South Asian English has developed to a more distinctive level than in other countries where English is used as a second language.⁸³ English in India has evolved characteristic features at the phonological, lexical, syntactic and even at discourse level. Initially, these innovations were rejected by purists, but they are becoming increasingly accepted: English is not anymore treated as a foreign language; it is part of the cultural identity of India.⁸⁴

Nativization has been used as a conscious creative experiment, aiming at lending a national identity to an alien language. Indian Writers in English have infused the tempo of Indian life into their English expression by harnessing their philosophical, mythological, cultural and socio-political resources of language in installing the Indian soul in English body. A judicious use of conversational expressions and natural items of Indian locale has proved to be effective in giving Indian identity to an alien language.

A large number of Indian words (from different regional languages and Hindi) have passed into 'Indian Variety of English.' Indian English is an

index of a rich culture and a great tradition of indigenous languages. The earliest of the Indian (language) items to intrude into the English language were essentially those lexical items, which came through travel literature. The second phase developed with the register-restricted items whose history is not different from American Indian items in American English and aboriginal language items in Australian English. Kachru has used the term lexical innovations for these borrowings and has further classified them into two categories:

1. **Single Items:** By single item innovation we mean the transfer of Indian lexical items into Indian English. They are to be separated from hybrid items and other innovations, such as *shifts or loan translations*. These items are further classified into two additional categories. There are, first, those items, which have become part of the lexical stock of the English language and are used both in British and American English and may, therefore, be termed 'assimilated items.' For administrative, cultural and political reasons the borrowing of South Asian (Indian) items is higher in British English than in American English. Second, there are those items, which have not necessarily been included in the lexicons of the native varieties of English, but have high frequency in Indian English. Kachru has used the term 'non-restricted lexical items' (or 'assimilated item') for the first type and 'restricted lexical items' for the second type.⁸⁵ The first are non-restricted in the sense that they do not occur only in Indian English. However, it should be noted that a large number of lexical items have certain semantic constraints, which they do not have in the Indian languages from which they have been borrowed.

Examples are:

puja, bazaar, dhun, Ishwar, Allah, jadoo, ayah, mynahs, hartal, saris, baas, darshan, maharaja, sahibzadas, baysharram, tamasha, mainduck, bombayalis, samjao, elaichees, halva, mussulman, sultan, paans, paisa, badmash, khansama, chipkali, chamchas, khazana, bilkul, chaat, khalaas, lathis, paranthas, bhangra (*The Moor's Last Sigh*)

bazaars, PWD, Ammu, dhobi, veshyas, mol, mon, shri, guru, baba, zamindars, patcha, pappachi, mammachi, charminar, raksha, lungi, avatar, kebabs, mombatti, bandh, namaste, ayah, mehndi, ghat, laddoo, laltain, sherwani, mantra (*God of Small Things*)

nakhras, karma, rishis, rajah, wakil, arre, chokra, maidan, dhols, yogi, aha!, oho!, shamiana, dekho, langur, kalyug, yatra, muezzin, hamal, galis, chalta hai, arre, koi.hai?, ashram, dhaba, loafer, chaprassi, patangbaz (*The Ground Beneath Her Feet*)

brahmin, satyavati, hindustani, asana, lao, burra, do, bhisti, lotas, fakir, jamadar, bhai, huzoor, attar, dharampatni, memsahib, behn, mushairas, thana, swastika, shakti, chillum, apsara, namaz, halal, ghee, pathan, pahelwan, madrasah, koyal, mynah (*The Great Indian Novel*)

Then there are names of different Indian festivals (Onam, Dewali, Eid, Ganpati etc), food items (idli, sambhar, kebabs, Mughlai kormas, reshmi kebabs, Kashmiri shermal, keema, biryanis etc) which are frequently used by Indian English writers as well as in the conversations of English (Indian variety of English.)

Some examples have also been taken from national dailies and magazines, which are given below:

- (i) Jaya now woos minorities by going to *durgahs* (*The Times of India*, Mar. 5, 2003)
- (ii) He doesn't issue *fatwas*... (*The Sunday Times*, Mar. 16, 2003)
- (iii) In her *Kanjeevarams* and *malli poos*, she's South India's, most enduring import (*The Sunday Times*, Mar. 16, 2003)
- (iv) ...bhajans of Meera ... (*The Sunday Times*, Mar. 16, 2003)
- (v) I adore my *ganne ka juice*, and *bhel* ... (*The Sunday Times*, Mar. 16, 2003)
- (vi) Nafisa Joseph ...consider herself a *pucca* South Indian at heart (*The Delhi Times*, Mar. 3, 2003)

- (vii) We love Kamala Das ...even though she wears glasses and black *burqas*... (*The Sunday Times*, Mar. 2, 2003)
- (viii) In Paris, papa, mummy, me and *bhaiya* (*India Today*, p. 5, Apr. 24, 2006)
- (ix) Wearing a *lungi* in a village is not a fashion (*India Today*, p.16, Apr. 24, 2006)
- (x) Is Aishwarya really worthy of being the Bachchan *bahu*? (Star Dust, p. 9, Apr. 2006)
- (xi) After all Sallu is no *ullu*? (Star Dust, p. 13, Apr. 2006)

2. Hybridized Items: By hybridized item is meant a lexical item, which comprises of two or more elements, at least one of which is from Indian language and one from English. The elements of a hybrid formation may belong either to an open set or to a closed system in lexis. An open-set item is considered 'open' in the sense that there are no grammatical constraints on the selection of the elements of the item. Consider, for example, the following: kumkum mark (*Kanthapura*, 159.) A closed system item is 'closed' in the sense that at least one element belongs to the closed system of Indian languages; for example the suffix -wala in policewala (*So Many Hungers*, 61.)

Some other examples are:

Karri-leaves, bazaar-collies, congresswallah, summer charpoys, ranghu clan, 'kali-tongued, chowpatty beach, lambajan chandiwala (Long John Silver fellow), art-wallahs, masala-art, business-baboos, Bombay- wallahs, Mummy ji, gai-wallah (*The Moor's Last Sigh*)

kunukku earrings, white chatta, kodam puli treee, clay kooyah, co-sadhus, co-swamis, Big meeshas (*God of Small Things*)

hennaed feet, houri's feet, punkha-wallah, Durbar Hall, jute wallahs, peepal tree, chausa Mango, lathi charge, astrakhan cap, Gelabi Desh War (*The Great Indian Novel*)

khatri-boy, harsingar tree, tonga-wallah, chaat-stand, cuckoo-clock, cowrie-shells, jatav-caste, Baitar House, Alamgiri Mosque, kathak-dance, sarangi-wallah, masterji, box-wallah and box-walli, Teen-Murti House (*A Suitable Boy*)

kundalini flashers, sodawater-batliwala, properly wallah, numdah rugs, fillum fans, movie mogul, tantric masters, tabla drums, bidri-work, itr-seller, tika-marks, Limo Singh, Lawn Singh, Kitchen Singh, Goddess-Ma, Wagahwal'a gang, Mahayana mastesr, Gandhara-heads, do-teen days, Indian Puranas, Bharat-burble (*The Ground Beneath Her Feet*)

Classification of Hybrid Formations

We have classified hybrid formations according to the units and the elements, which operate in their structure.

A large number of hybrid formations belong to the nominal group, with two or more elements in the structure. They have been divided into the followings two subgroups: (1) Indian item as head, (2) Indian item as modifier.

Indian Item as Head

This group includes those formations in which there are two elements and the relationship is that of a modifier and a head. The first component – the modifier – is from English and the head is form an Indian language, e.g. British sarkar (*The Big Heart*, 192.) The second group also belongs to the class nominal but the order of elements in the group is reversed. In this case, Indian lexical item functions as a modifier, and an English lexical item as the head, e.g., ayurveda system (*Music for Mohini*, 99.)

In the first group the formations of modifier-head (MH) relationships have been further subgrouped according to the position of the components, i.e., (i) NN type (ii) AN type, and (iii) -ing as H type.

1. NN type: In these the first element belongs to the class noun, e.g., babu English (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 33), canal-bund (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 281); Christian sadhu (*The Flame of the Forest*, 257); city

kotwali; coconut paysam (*The Astrologer's Day*, 8); Congress pandal (*Untouchable*, 212); -raj (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 31); copper pie (*So Many Hungers*, 91); -pajama (*The House in Adampur*, 139); -sadri (*The Big Heart*, 147); -satranji (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 222); evening-bhajan (*Kanthapura*, 186); -puja (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 170); flower bazaar (*The House in Adampur*, 56); gang coolie (*The Astrologer's Day*, 181); glass choorie (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 211); gold mohar (*One Thousand Nights on a bed of Stone*); gram khir (*Kanthapura*, 43); marriage pandal (*Mr Sampath*, 34); onion pecoras (*Remember the House*, 17); police jamadar (*Kanthapura*, 29); -lathi (*Kanthapura*, 162); -thana (*So Many Hungers*, 85); rail gadi (*The Big Heart*, 75); Saturday haat (*So Many Hungers*, 52); solar topee (*The Voice of God*, 10); tamarind chutney (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 244); tank bund (*The Astrologer's Day*, 61); vermicelli paysam (*Kanthapura*, 18.)

2. AN type: In these the first element belongs to the class adjective e.g., British sarkar (*The Big Heart*, 192); ceremonial pronom (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 195); counterfeit kismet (*The Big Heart*, 182); double roti (*Coolie*, 261); eternal upavasi (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 386); evil sarkar (*The Big Heart*, 51); holy mantra (*Music for Mohini*, 64); imperial raj (*The House in Adampur*, 141); landless kisan (*So Many Hungers*, 18); swadeshi cloth (*Kanthapura*, 63); yakka carriage (*The Big Heart*, 55)
3. -ing H type: In a restricted number of formations the -ing form function as a modifier, e.g., burning-ghaut (*The Big Heart*, 207); burning-ghee (*The Bachelor of Arts*, 66)

Indian Item as Modifier

In terms of structure, the items discussed in this category are also of the unit group (class nominal), but the difference is that the position of the modifier is reversed. In this case, an English item functions as a head. This group has

been further subdivided in to the following: (1) derivative N, (2) -ing as head, (3) agentive, (4) verb as head, (5) noun + noun

1. Derivative N, e.g., anjali salutation (*The Flame of the Forest*, 84); bazaar musician (*The Flame of the Forest*, 16); haldi invitation (*Kanthapura*, 152); kashi pilgrimage (*Kanthapura*, 199); vilayati mixture (*The Big Heart*, 102); yakka carriage *The Big Heart*, 55)
2. -ing as head , e.g., beedi-smoking (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 198); kirtan singing (*The Flame of the Forest*, 221) ; pan-spitting (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 31); puja-offering (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 127)
3. Agentive, e.g., ashram scavenger (*Untouchable*, 217); sweeper (*Untouchable*); beedi-seller (*The Astrologer's Day*, 52); jutka driver (*The Bachelor of Arts*, 101); palki-bearer (*Music for Mohini*, 214); paria-mixer (*Kanthapura*, 63); sarvodaya leader, senai player (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 159); sherbet-dealer (*The Big Heart*, 34); tiffin carrier (*The Voice of God*, 19); tom-tom beater (*The Astrologer's Day*, 111); tonga driver (*The Voice of God*, 36)
4. Verb as H, e.g., guru ridden (*The Flame of the Forest*, 171); ghee-fried (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 205); khadi bound (*Kanthapura*, 41); sari-clad (*So Many Hungers*, 81)
5. N+N: This class is most productive; such formations are frequently seen in the newspapers and other pieces of creative writing. These hybrid formations are used in various socio-cultural contexts in India; ahimsa soldier (*Waiting for the Mahatma*, 78); -spell (*So Many Hungers*, 84); akashti holiday (*The Big Heart*, 162); anna coin (*The Astrologer's Day*, 123); a roti ceremony (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 113), -time (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 207); aruni-field (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 282); asirvad ceremony (*Waiting for the Mahatma*, 115); ashram camp (*Waiting for the Mahatma*, 82); -disciple (*Music for Mohini*, 82); attar bottle (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 266); ayurveda system (*Music for Mohini*, 166); baran rite

(*Music for Mohini*, 98); basar chamber (*Music for Mohini*, 85); -room (*Music for Mohini*, 73); basavana bull (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 293); bhajan song (*So Many Hungers*, 171); choli-piece (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 58); dak bungalow (*Train to Pakistan*, 56); durbar hall (*The Astrologer's Day*, 224); harikatha-man (*Kanthapura*, 23); jibba pocket (*Waiting for the Mahatma*, 19); kartik light (*Kanthapura*, 127); kumkum mark (*Kanthapura*, 159); kumkum-rice (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 123); nautch- girl (*The Flame of the Forest*, 13); party (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 289); panchayat hall (*Kanthapura*, 116); pheni dinner (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 227); punkah-boy (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 90) ; rudrakshi bed (*Kanthapura*, 136); sanai music (*Music for Mohini*, 72); sandhi rites (*The Astrologer's Day*, 53); shagan ceremony (*The Big Heart*, 124); sherbet shop (*The Big Heart*, 98); shirshasana posture (*The House in Adampur*, 30); sindur mark (*Music for Mohini*, 99) ; taluk magistrate (*Kanthapura*, 201); -office (*The Astrologer's Day*, 61); upanayanam ceremony (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 323); zari work ; zenana affair (*The Flame of the Forest*, 66); -life (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 181)

String Formations

In a string formation we have more than two elements, one of which may a compound modifying a head, which may be form an Indian language or from English. Consider the following: four-anna class (*The Astrologer's Day*, 84); high-class lallas (*The Big Heart*, 125); hillman coolie (*The Big Heart*, 86); home spun khaddar (*The Big Heart*, 48)

Hybridization and Derivative Suffixes

The hybrid formations with derivative suffixes from the Indian languages or English are grouped into the following three categories: (1) non-English head and English derivational suffix; (2) English head and non-English derivational suffix; and (3) non- English head and English prefix of negation.

The following English derivative suffixes are used with Indian lexical items: -dom, colliedom (*Coolie*, 94); hood, sadhuhood (*Untouchable*, 59); chaprasi-hood (*Coolie*, 10); -ship, patelship (*Kanthapura*, 144); -worth, piceworth (*So Many Hungers*, 161); -ic, upanishadic (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 25)

There is only one South Asian suffix, -wallah, which is used with a large number of nouns to denote an owner, or possessor, or master, for instance, factory wallah (*Coolie*, 82); Congress wallah (*Remember the House*, 119); police wallah (*So Many Hungers*, 61)

The English prefix of negation *non-* has a high frequency and is used with a large number of items, e.g., non-Brahmin; non-adiwasi.

Some other examples taken from national dailies and magazines are given below:

- (i) She is the *Babuji Bomb!*" (*The Sunday Times*, Feb. 16, 2003)
- (ii) *videshi liquor* (*The Delhi Times*, Mar. 3, 2003)
- (iii) *Chandini Bar* (*The Sunday Times*, Feb. 16, 2003)
- (iv) *Tandoori Nights* (*The Sunday Times*, Feb. 16, 2003)

The development of hybridization in Indian English lexis has been accomplished over two hundred years of administrative, cultural, political and educational contact with the English-speaking world. This feature of Indian English is therefore interesting from the point of language acculturation and from that of language contact.

Thus, by nativizing the English language Indian English writers have been trying to portray Indian ethos and native consciousness.

II Linguistic Economy: It is seen quite often that a language undergoes linguistic economy in a non-native communication situation for lack of performing skill of the participant, or as a result of his linguistic laziness. The linguistic economy is employed both at lexical and syntactic levels to gain forthright communication. While such linguistic economies or 'deletions' are not quite unusual and do not pose problems of communication in native

situations, they appear stylistically distinctive and/or semantically opaque to the native whose language undergoes such deletions.

In a large number of Indianisms a syntactic unit of a higher rank in English is reduced to a lower rank in Indian English. There are cases where an L₁ speaker of English tends to use a group or a clause, but in many such cases an Indian user of English uses a unit of a lower rank. For example, many nominal formations of modifier + head + qualifier structure are reduced in IE to formations of modifier + noun structure.⁸⁶

In such Indianisms the rank reduction involves first the process of deletion and then permutation of the lexical items. Consider, for instance, the following nominal groups of English:

(1) an address of welcome, (2) a bunch of keys, and (3) love of God. In Indian English these are reduced to: (1) welcome address (*Indian Express*, 14 Aug. 1959), (2) key bunch (*The Astrologer's Day, and Other Stories*, 178), and (3) God-love (*Untouchable*, 205)

In formations such as America-retuned (*The Flame of the Forest*, 105) or English returned, the process involved is more complex. Though the process is complex the underlying structures are non-deviant, but the realized structures (e.g., American returned or English returned) are deviant and would use both semantic and grammatical explanations in the Indian variety of English.

The rank-reduced formations have been labeled by Whitworth 'wrong compounds' for the reason that Indians are following the process of analogy of Sanskrit *tatpursa* compounds, like deva-putra ('son of God') and transfer such formations into Indian English (say, for example, deva-putra as 'god-son').⁸⁷ This, as he mentions, may also result from loan-shifts, as in bride-price, which in from kanya sulkam.

Goffin suggests that such formations show a tendency in Indian English of 'phrase mongering'.⁸⁷ The examples given by him (e.g., Himalayan blunder,

nation-building, dumb millions) are not different from the above examples and show clearly that there is a regular underlying pattern in such formations.

Other examples of deletion are:

match-box for a box of matches (In British English match-box is used for a box without matches. In Indian English it is substituted for what in British English would be a box of matches), mission lady for the lady from the mission; roll-strength for the strength of class, caste-basis for the basis of caste (*The Hindu*, Nov. 25, 1963.)

The following instances of lexical deletions in Indian English were all found in Indian English newspapers, where participants performing skill in not generally quite high:

LT

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| (i) Hindi version certificate | : Hindi version (of the) certificate |
| (ii) hardship of Chapra | : hardship(of the people)of Chapra |
| (iii)Samastipur-Banmankh
passenger | : Samastipur-Banmankhi passenger (train) |

NS

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (iv) Electricity Board failed | : Poor (power) generation |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|

to meet situation created
by poor generation

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (v) exchange of firing between | : two (political) parties |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
- two parties

Deletions have a linguistic relevance in as much as they have a pattern about them and are a means for rapid communication as is borne out by the deletion-characterized registers of advertisements, catchy slogans, headlines/headings, etc. It is in this perspective of communicative efficacy that Indianisms marked by deletions have come to acquire stylistic significance.

III. Semantic Manipulations: An item of English may be assigned additional semantic markers in Indian English, which are not necessarily assigned to it in the L₁ varieties of English. This may also lead to register shift (or extension) and thus, for an L₁ speaker of English, it results in what is termed register confusion. Consider, for example, the use of flower-bed (*Music for Mohini*, 90.) In British English it is restricted to the register of gardening but in Indian English it has been used in the sense of nuptial bed, or the terms government (*Train to Pakistan*, 40) or master (*The Voice of God*, 19) which are used as *modes of address* in Indian English.

Secondly, an item of English may be assigned an extra feature in Indian English. In English, brother, sister, or brother-in-law all belong to the lexical set of kinship terms. In Indian English, extra semantic features are assigned to them and their range of functions in other lexical sets is widened, e.g., [+affection], [+regard], [+abuse], [+mode of address]. He for example, mentions the item co-son-in-law used for wife's sister's husband.⁸⁹

Other examples of semantic shift are:

boy – used for bearer or waiter in Indian English

auntie – extensively used in Indian English to any female adult, even if only an acquaintance of the parent. In British English, the use of the term is not so wide, it is usually limited to the parent's sister and close women friends. (c.f. uncle)

cousin-sister/cousin-brother – In British English, the item cousin has no marker of sex; in Indian English, however, cousin may be followed by a sex marker; i.e., cousin-sister (*Remember the House*, 29), cousin-brother. (*The Flame of the Forest*, 131)

Similarly a vendor in Indian English situation might refer to his/her female customers as sister (not any reference to kinship).

The result of these shifts is that ambiguities are caused which can be resolved only when the texts are understood in terms of Indian semantic features. Thus, these lexical items are to be redefined in terms of Indian contextual units.

3.3.3 Grammar, idiom and usage in Indian English

For those aware of the grammar of Indian tongues like Bengali, Hindi, Malayalam, and Tamil, the logic behind quirks of Indian English is quite transparent and readily explicable. However, observations by the perspicacious, in spite of ignorance of Indian languages, will reveal much that is characterised in 'rules' and 'tendencies.'

According to Kachru, a mistake may be defined as any 'deviation' which is rejected by a native speaker of English as out of the linguistic 'code' of the English language, and which may not be justified in Indian English on formal and or/contextual grounds. A deviation, on the other hand, may involve differences from a norm, but such deviations may be explained in terms of the cultural and/or linguistic context in which a language functions.⁹⁰

A number of these observations are variety-oriented and mark members of the Indian English speech community as separate from users of other varieties of English. The other types of observations are register oriented. These features are characteristic of the typical registers of Indian English, which are definable with reference to the functions of the Indian English in typically Indian sociocultural settings. Consider, for example, text oriented: salt march (*Remember the House*, 36), salt-laws (*The House in Adampur*, 55.) The third type of collocation is author oriented and may be present only in the works of creative Indian English writers who write about typically Indian contexts. Such collocations provide linguistic clues to the style of a specific author. There are also features which are text specific and may not be generalized as features of the total literary output of a writer. For example, the style of *Kanthapura* cannot be generalized as the style of Raja Rao, just as we cannot generalize the style of 'any one lived in a pretty how town' as the style of E.E. Cummings. In both these cases it is important to understand the style of the text in order to understand the total style repertoires of Raja Rao or E.E. Cummings.

We find that linguistically definable Indianisms present a spectrum, and each item needs careful categorization. At one end, this spectrum presents statistically frequent Indianisms which may be generalized as variety-oriented features; at the other end it presents text-specific and statistically marginal features such as the formation 'may the vessel of your life never float on the sea of existence' (*Coolie*, 20.) This formation is both author restricted and text-specific, but it is a possible formation in Indian English as are the 'deviant' formations of Cummings or Joyce in other Englishes. When it is claimed that one cannot 'postulate Indian English' based on examples drawn from 'Indo-Anglian writers', one is confronting a confusion between language use and prescriptivism.⁹¹ It becomes more confusing when it is further claimed: The Indo-Anglian writer should be allowed the freedom to experiment with the language for his own artistic needs rather than to be heaved into a system of linguistics in search of that elusive medium-standard Indian English.⁹²

Standard Indian English is no more 'elusive' than is standard American English or standard West African English. An individual author experiments with the style repertoire, which a speech community uses, whether for 'artistic' or practical needs. In the description of language use, 'artistic needs' for creative use of language are as much a part of the total range of language use as is purely functional use (e.g., in ordering one's meal.)

We will take into account certain grammatical characteristics, which mark 'educated' Indian English as deviant from the 'educated' native varieties of English. First, let us consider some features involving sentence and clause structure. It is claimed that Indian English has a tendency towards using complex noun and verb phrases and rather long sentences. The following excerpt from *Kanthapura* is illustrative:

The day rose into the air and with it rose the dust of the morning, and the carts began to creak round the bulging rocks and the coppery peaks, and

the sun fell into the river and pierced it to the pebbles, while the carts rolled on and on, fair carts of the Kanthapura fair....⁹³

One cannot generalize, since R.K. Narayan's style is the opposite of Raja Rao's. But stylistic characteristics do not have to be uniform; generalizations are indicative of tendencies.

Second, in constructions at the phrase level (verb phrase or noun phrase) we find several features. Let us consider, as an example, the be + verb + ing construction in the Indian English. In such constructions some Indian English users see to 'violate' the selectional restriction applicable to such constructions in the native varieties of English, where the members of the subclass of verbs such as hear and see do not occur in the progressive tenses. This restriction, on the other hand, does not apply to Hindi-Urdu verbs *sunna* 'to hear', *dekhna* 'to see' (e.g., *mai sun raha hu* 'I' 'listen' 'progressive' 'am'; 'I am listening'; *mai dekh raha hu* 'I' 'see' 'progressive' 'am'; 'I am seeing.') The tendency is to extend this feature to Indian English.

Third, characteristics may be defined in terms of systemic variation. An often discussed illustration of such deviations is the use of articles in Indian English. It is not claimed here that Indian English necessarily displays a consistently 'deviant' pattern in the use of articles. The picture is one of arbitrary use of the, a/an and ϕ article. In Dustoor very descriptive labels have been used to categorize the Indian deviations in the use of articles, such as 'missing and intrusive articles in Indian English,' and 'wrong, usurping and dispossessed articles in Indian English.'⁹⁴

The fourth characteristic concerns the formation of interrogative constructions in which Indian English speakers do not necessarily change the position of the subject and the auxiliary items. Consider, for example, *What you would like to eat?* or *Really, you are finished?* The tag questions in Indian English also show the influence of the first languages. It is not uncommon to find either a general 'it' in all tag-questions, (e.g., *You have taken my book, isn't it? He*

has left, isn't it? or simply a negative particle in the tag question (as in *She borrowed my book, no ?.*)

We will also discuss here certain formations, which form part of both grammar and lexis. Some of the linguistic devices used to produce such formations are very productive. Kachru has used the term Indian English collocations for such formations.⁹⁵ Collocation refers to the tendency of certain lexical items to keep company with a set of other lexical items. In other words, there is a mutual expectancy and a tendency of co-occurrence between certain words in a language. One might say that knowledge about the constraints of mutual expectancy of lexical items forms a part of a native speaker's competence in a language. The formation *silly ass* in English is often given as an example of a collocation. A *silly ass* means more than what the two lexical items mean individually – for a native speaker of English, these words signal a lot more than a four-legged animal.

The use of English in India for almost two hundred years has naturally nativized the company which English words traditionally keep in their non-Indian settings. The Indian linguistic and cultural context has either extended the membership of the set of items with which lexical items can co-occur, or new, typically Indian collocations have been formed. The Indian collocations naturally sound 'foreign' to native speakers; after all, these have to be understood in the Indian context. Therefore, a large number of typically Indian collocations mark Indian English as distinct from other varieties of English. A collocation might be marked as Indian either in terms of its constituent members, or in terms of its extended or restricted semantic range.

The interference is not restricted to one level only; it shows in grammar, lexis, collocations and transfer of idioms from Indian languages into English. In lexis or in idioms, this process manifests itself in what is termed translation. The translated items vary in their assimilations in the target language-the language, which absorbs the items. The list of such items in Indian English is a long one. Let us consider, for example, the following: twice born

(*Untouchable*, 14) 'dvija'; waist-thread (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 190) 'katidora'; dining-leaf (*Waiting for the Mahatma*, 84) 'pattal'. At first glance these items appear to be unEnglish, but one can find several contextual arguments for their existence in Indian English, the most convincing one being that the formations make sense in Indian English – they have a meaning with reference to Indian culture. It is true that translated idioms sometimes stand out without being assimilated; they may even remain marginal in terms of use. But so did 'a marriage of convenience' or 'it goes without saying' when these were first translated from French into English. It is a rare scholar who would be curious to find out their ancestry, to identify their source. In Indian English the translated idioms 'may the fire of ovens consume you' (*Coolie*, 78), 'a crocodile in a loincloth' (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 217) sounds rather unusual now, but there is no linguistic reason to consider them so. The formation 'pin drop silence' appear less deviant, the reason being that we have heard it often and have used it for a long time. The following comparative constructions in *Kanthapura* are translations, which have typical Indian character, and convey the Indianness, which the author obviously intended to convey: as honest as an elephant (12), as good as kitchen ashes (46), helpless as a calf (55), lean as an areca-nut tree. (259) A construction which is more English would perhaps sound less deviant, but then it would also be less Indian – therefore, less effective.

In India, English language functions in the following sociolinguistic setting: (1) it is a second language used under the influence of a number of substrata, (2) it is used in cross-cultural (and cross-religious) contexts, as well as for describing both these and native contexts; (3) it is used in Indian English writings (fiction, newspapers, etc.)

The following anomalies are observed in the grammar of Indian English:

- The progressive tense in stative verbs: *I am understanding it. She is knowing the answer*; an influence of traditional Hindi grammar, it is more common in northern states.

- Variations in noun number and determiners: *He performed many charities. She loves to pull your legs.*
- Prepositions: *pay attention on, discuss about, convey him my greetings.* Most prepositions of English are direct mental translations of the approximate postpositions of Hindi, but the Hindi-speakers fail to note that there isn't always a one-to-one correspondence.
- Tag questions: The use of "*isn't it?*" and "*no?*" as general question tags, as in *You're going, isn't it?* instead of *You're going, aren't you?*, and *He's here, no?* ('na' often replaces 'no': another influence of Hindi, this time colloquial, common all across the North, West, and East--the South replaces it with the 'ah' sound, as in *Ready, ah?*, an influence of colloquial Tamil and Kannada.)
- Word order: *Who you have come for? They're late always. My all friends are waiting.*
- *Yes* and *no* agreeing to the form of a question, not just its content -- A: *You didn't come on the bus?* B: *Yes, I didn't.*"
- Use of the indefinite article *a* before words starting with vowels (usually a slip of the tongue).

In addition to these observations, other unique patterns are also standard and will frequently be encountered in Indian English:

- The past perfect tense used in verbs where international English speakers would use the past simple. *I had gone* for *I went*.
- Use of the words *but* or *only* as intensifiers such as in: "*I was just joking but.*" or "*It was she only who cooked this rice.*" (Influenced by Hindi syntax)
- Anglicisation of Indian words especially in Chennai by adding "ify" to a local Tamil word.
- Use of *yaar*, *machaa*, *abey*, *arey* in an English conversation, mainly by people of native Hindi-speaking origin; 'da' is more frequently used in the South.

- Use of the word *ki* (Hindi) to mean, loosely, *that*, such as in "What I mean is *ki* we should adopt this plan instead." (Seen mainly in the North and West of the country.)
- Idiomatic English for quantification in use of preposition "of", as in "*There is so much of happiness in being honest.*"
- Use of the plural *ladies* for a single lady or a woman of respect, as in "There was a *ladies* at the phone."
- Use of "open" and "close" instead of switch/turn on/off, as in "Open the air conditioner" instead of "Turn on the air conditioner", and "Open your shirt" for "Take off your shirt." This construction is also found in Quebec English.
- Use of "hope" where there is no implication of desire but merely expectation: "We don't want rain today but I hope it will rain."
- Use of "off it" and "on it" instead of "switch it off" and "switch it on."
- Use of "current went" and "current came" for "The power went out" and "The power came back."
- Use of "y'all" for "you all" or "all of you", as used in Southern American English, especially by Anglo-Indians.
- Swapping around the meanings of "slow" and "soft" as in "I shall speak slower for you" (actually means I will speak softly) or "make the fan softer" (actually means make the fan go slower/ reduce its speed.)
- Creation of nonsensical, rhyming double-words to denote generality of idea or act, a 'totality' of the word's denotation, as in "No more ice-cream-fice-cream for you!", "Let's go have some chai-vai (tea, "tea and stuff.") or "There's a lot of this fighting-witing going on in the neighbourhood." (Prevalent mainly in Hindi- and Punjabi-speaking states.)
- Use of "*baazi*" / "*baaji*" or "-*giri*" for the same purpose, as in "business-baazi" or "cheating-giri." (Also prevalent mainly in Hindi-speaking states.)

- Use of word "*wallah*" to denote occupation or 'doing of/involvement in doing' something, as in "The taxi-wallah overcharged me.", "The grocery-wallah sells fresh fruit." or "He's a real music-wallah: his CD collection is huge."
- Use of the word *maane* (Bengali) , "*Yani*" (Urdu) and *matlab* (Hindi/Urdu) to mean, loosely, "meaning" ("What I mean is..."), as in "*The problem with your idea, maane, what I feel is missing, is ki it does not address the problem of overstaffing.*" or "*Your explanation, matlab, your feeble attempt at one, was sorely lacking in cohesiveness.*"
- Overuse of the words "Generally"/"Actually"/"Obviously"/"Basically" in the beginning of a sentence.e.g "Actually I am not feeling well."
- Use of the word "*since*" instead of "*for*" in conjunction with periods of time, as in "*I have been working since four years*" instead of "*I have been working for four years*" or "*I have been working since four years ago.*" This usage is more common among speakers of North Indian languages such as Hindi where the words for both "*since*" and "*for*" are the same.
- Confusion, especially among North Indians, between the use of *till* and *as long as*, as in "Till you haven't finished your homework, you will not get dinner." This is again directly traceable to Hindi grammar.
- Use of the word "*gifi*" as a verb: You are gifting me a new cell phone?
- Use of "He is older to me" instead of "He is older than me."
- Use of "I can able to cook" instead of "I can cook" - a widespread grammatical error in India, but especially so among Telugu speakers.
- Omission of the definite article: e.g. "Let's go to city" instead of "Let's go to the city."
- Usage of "out of hundred" instead of per cent: "He got hundred out of hundred" instead of "He got a hundred" or "He got a one hundred per cent."
- Pronunciation of h and z as "hech" and "ized" respectively.

- Use of the Latin word "*cum*", meaning "with", as in "Welcome to the gymnasium *cum* swimming pool building." This was common in the past in British English.
- In South India, phrases such as "that and all", or "this and all" are used roughly to convey the meaning "all of that (stuff)" or "regarding that." e.g: A: "Can I pay you back later? I don't have my wallet." B: "That and all I don't know. I need the money now."
- Use of "the same" instead of "it", as in "I heard that you have written a document on xyz. Could you send me the same?" (this again used to be standard British English but now appears old-fashioned.)

Idioms and Popular Phrases

These might look strange to a person for whom English is the first language. They should realise that many of their expressions similarly look strange to those for whom English is not their first language. Many of these idioms and popular phrases are heavily influenced by the way Indians express these ideas in their languages.

- "*Your good name please?*": "What is your name?", carryover from Hindi expression "Shubh-naam", literally meaning "auspicious name." This is similar to the way Japanese refer to the other person's name with an honorific "O-" prefix, as in "O-namae" instead of the simple "namae" when referring to their own name. It is also an indication that the questioner wants to know the person's formal or legal name, as opposed to his or her nickname, which are commonly used among friends and family.
- "That is besides the point."
- "*Out of station*" to mean "out of town."
- "*Join duty*" to mean "reporting to work for the first time". "*Rejoin duty*" is to come back to work after a vacation.
- "*Deadly*", "*hi-fi*", "*sexy*" are used in idiomatic ways as adjectives. *Deadly* means intense, "*hi-fi*" stylish or beyond the perception of the

average person and "sexy" excellent or extremely cool. Examples are *"That movie was deadly, yaar; what an action scene!"*, *"Your shoes are hi-fi. Where'd you get them?"* and *"That's a sexy car, man!"*

- *"Hello, What do you want?"*: used by some when answering a phone call, not perceived as impolite by most Indians.
- *"Tell me"*: used when answering the phone, meaning "How can I help you?"
- *"send it across"* instead of "send it over", as in "send the bill across to me" instead of "send the bill over to me."
- *"order for food"* instead of "order food", as in "Let's order for sandwiches."
- *"What a nonsense/silly you are!"* or *"Don't be doing such nonsense anymore."*: occasional - idiomatic use of nonsense/silly as nouns (although this is not uncommon in British English.)
- *"pindrop silence"* literally means that such a silence should be maintained that even a pindrop can be heard.
- *"back"* replacing *"ago"* when talking about elapsed time, as in *"I met him five years back"* rather than *"I met him five years ago."* (Though this too is not uncommon in British English)
- *"freak out"* is meant to have fun, as in *"let's go to the party and freak out."*
- *"pass out"* is meant to graduate, as in *"I passed out of the university in 1995."*
- *"go for a toss"* is meant to go haywire or to flop, as in *"my plans went for a toss when it started raining heavily."*
- *"funny"* is meant to replace not only *"odd"/"strange"* but *"rude"/"precocious"/"impolite"* as well. *"That man was acting really funny with me, so I gave him a piece of my mind."*
- *"on the anvil"* is used often in the Indian press to mean something is about to appear or happen. For example, a headline might read *"New roads on the anvil."*

- "Unless and untill". This is called as Indianism by many native speakers. This is uncommon in British English as these two words are not used at the same time.
- Use of redundant words like "I am feeling much better". Here "much" is a redundant word. Though this part is influenced by American English.

Interjections and casual references

- Casual use of words *yaar* (friend, buddy, dude, man), *bhai* (brother) and *bhaiyya* (elder brother) much as with the American English 'man' or 'dude', as in "Arey! C'mon, yaar! Don't be such a killjoy!", "Long time no see, bhai." or "Ay, bhaiyya! Over here!" *Yaar* is the equivalent of *mate* in Australian and British English. The word *boss* is also sometimes used in this way, among friends but also to male strangers, as in "How much to go to the train station, boss?", or "Good to see you, boss."
- Use of interjections *Arey!* and *acchha!* to express a wide range of emotions, usually positive though occasionally not, as in "Arey! What a good job you did!", "Accha, so that's your plan." or "Arey, what bad luck, yaar!"
- Use of *T-K* in place of O.K. when answering a question, as in "Would you like to come to the movie?" -- "T-K, I'll meet you there later." ("theek hai", literally; actually *meaning* okay)
- Use of *oof!* to show distress or frustration, as in "Oof! The baby's crying again!"
- Along with "oof!", there is also "oh foe!" which is in a more whining voice which kind of means "oh, no!". Not many Indians will say this, but it is used widely in Hindi movies or soap operas. The South Indian equivalent is "Aiyo!", expanded to "Aiyaiyo!" in proportion to the provocation. The latter phrase is the trademark of the South Indian, as caricatured in Hindi movies.

- Use of "Waah" to express admiration, especially in musical settings, as in "Waah! Waah! You play the sitar so well!"
- "Hotel" means "restaurant" (as well as specifically "big hotel") in India: "I ate in the hotel". "Lodge" is used to refer to small hotels. Sometimes "Lodge" refers to Place where you stay (in rooms) and "Hotel" refers to a place where you eat.
- "specs" means spectacles (as in colloquial UK English).
- "cent per cent" means "100 per cent" as in "He got cent per cent in maths."
- "centum" is also frequently used to refer to 100.
- Overuse of the word "Please" as an interjection, often overstressing the vowel. This could stem from the lack of a separate word for "please" in Hindi (please is implied within the verb conjugation). This could cause speakers to "overcompensate" for this word.
- *High-End* : (Supposedly) of very high quality (used sarcastically for work and people.)
- *n* - Many (He takes *n* troubles to stay neat.)

Anomalous usage

- The word "marriage" used to mean "wedding." ("I am attending my cousin's marriage next month.")
- The word "holiday" used to mean any day on which a person is not at work, including official holidays, vacations, sick leave, weekends, etc. ("Sunday is my holiday.")
- Treatment of the phrase "I don't think so" as a unit, as in "*I don't think so* I can do that" instead of "I don't think I can do that."
- The word "gheraoh" (meaning forcefully restraining a person by surrounding him but not touching him) used as a verb as in "The minister was gheraoed by the public today."
- The word "meat" is used to mean the flesh of any mammal, fish, bird, shellfish, etc. Fish, seafood, and poultry are not treated as categories

separate from "meat," especially when the question of vegetarianism is at issue.

- The word "mutton" is used to mean goat meat instead of sheep meat (and sometimes in a broader, euphemistic sense to mean any red meat, i.e., not poultry or fish)
- The word "hero" is used to mean a male protagonist in a story, especially in a motion picture. The protagonist need not have any specifically heroic characteristics. More significantly, "hero" is used to mean a movie actor who is often cast in the role of the protagonist. Thus, "Look at Vik; he looks like a hero," meaning "he is as handsome as a movie star."
- The word "dialogue" means "a line of dialogue" in a movie. ("That was a great dialogue!" means "That was a great line!") "Dialogues" is used to mean "screenplay." In motion picture credits, the person who might in other countries be credited as the screenwriter in India is often credited with the term "dialogues."
- The verb "repair" in southern India is used as a noun for a broken object as in, "The TV became repair." The same word is used for saying when the broken object is fixed: "The TV is repaired and now it is working properly."
- The word "stay" used for "live" or reside at": "Where are you staying?" meaning not "Where are you temporarily lodging" but "Where is your residence?" (though this is normal in Standard Scottish English)
- The word "damn" used as an intensifier, especially a negative one, far more frequently and with far more emphatic effect, than in international English.
- The word "healthy" to refer to fat people, in North India in general and in Bihar in particular as in "His build is on the healthy side" to refer to a positively overweight person. It is used because most people who are thin often suffer from many diseases. People presume that if a person is

in a financial position to get fat he musn't suffer from diseases i.e. he must be healthy.

- The expression "my dear", used as an adjective to refer a likeable person. as in "He is a my dear person."
- The word "dear" used as a term address of pleasant (male) companionability equivalent to "mate" in Australian English and presumably used as *yaar* would be in Hindi/Urdu.
- The word "dress" is used to refer to clothes for men, women, and children alike: "She bought a new dress for her son."
- The word "cloth" usually refers only to any clothes or fabrics that are not wearable, like "waste cloth": "Use that cloth for cleaning."
- "Cloth" and "clothe" are used interchangeably. 'Clothe' is sometimes regarded as the singular form of 'clothes.'
- "Shirtings and suitings" used for the process of making such garments
- "*saloon*" instead of *salon*, as in "*I will visit the hair saloon.*"
- "Bath" and "bathe" are also used interchangeably.
- Greetings like "Happy Birthday" are used even to say that "Today is my happy birthday"
- Intensifying adjectives by doubling them. This is a common feature of most Indian languages. For example: "She has curly-curly hair"; "You are showing your hairy-hairy legs; "We went to different-different places in the city in search of a good hotel; "You will get used to the humidity slowly-slowly". An extreme example is the use of the phrase "simp-simply" by Kannada speakers to mean "without any reason", obviously mirroring the Kannada "sum-sumne."
- Use of "colour" to imply "colourful"; often doubled in usage as in the previous item. "Those are colour-colour flowers."
- Use of "reduce" to mean "lose weight." "Have you reduced?"
- Use of "this side" and "that side" instead of "here" and "there." "Bring it this side." "We went that side."

- Use of "engagement" to mean not just an agreement between two people to marry, but a formal, public ceremony (often accompanied by a party) where the engagement is formalized. Indians will not speak of a couple as being "engaged," until after the engagement ceremony has been performed. Similar to the use of term "marriage," a person may say "I am going to attend my cousin's engagement next month." Afterwards, the betrothed is referred to as one's "would-be" wife or husband. In this case, "would be" is used to mean "will be" in contrast with the standard and American and British connotation of "wants to be (but will not be)."
- The word "marry" used to mean "arrange or organize a wedding for," as in "I will be marrying my daughter next month" (meaning: "I will be hosting/organizing my daughter's wedding next month.")
- "Graduation" used to mean completion of a bachelor's degree: "I did my graduation at Presidency College" ("I earned my bachelor's degree at Presidency College.")
- Word order following who, what, where, when, why, or how. In standard American and British English, the following are correct
"Where are you going?"
"Tell me where you are going"
In Indian English, however, a speaker will tend to choose one or the other word order pattern and apply it universally, thus:
"Where are you going?" and "Tell me where are you going.", or
"Where you are going?" and "Tell me where you are going."
- It is very common to notice Indian speakers adding "no" as a suffix at the end of a sentence to emphasize a particular point.:For example, "I told you no?!" in Indian English means "Didn't I tell you?"
- The use of phrases such as "today morning" or "today evening" instead of "this morning" or "this evening."

3.3.4 Gender and Politeness Codes in Indian English

English in India represents a network of socio cultural relations. The users of English in India have both linguistic and cultural accent, as they are not only bilinguals but also biculturals. So they use Indian English as a vehicle of Indian culture to express culturally determined behavior, linguistic as well non-linguistic, that is typically Indian.

Politeness codes are invariably found to be culture-based. Gender differentiation in the use of politeness codes usually occurs because each gender's behaviors pattern is linked with the social and cultural variable model of appropriate male and female behavior. Lakoff has defined politeness as follows:

There are many types of behaviour that can be called polite. Some forms of politeness are linguistic, some purely nonlinguistic and many mixed, some are polite in some settings, neutral or downright rude in others.⁹⁶

Trudgill's investigation into this aspect of gender differentiation in British English reveals the feminine tendency of using socially "better" linguistic behavior than men.⁹⁷ The female speakers also have a tendency of using more polite forms than men. In Indian English context, being polite means being courteous, gracious, civil and deferential. Sometimes it means adhering to formalities and avoiding a core language or leaving a decision open and not imposing one's views on anyone else. Indian society is marked by a big social difference between men and women. Women are generally relegated to a secondary status as compared to that of men. So they are expected to be more polite within the family where they receive less polite speech and offer more. This social fact gets reflected in the more polite social behavior of female characters in Indian English fiction. Though male characters, too, are found to use politeness codes, yet they do so in different context and situations and in significantly different ways.

Linguistic Politeness Codes

In Indian English fiction the politeness codes are contextual and occur in the texts in the form of requests and apologies. It is generally believed that politeness is a property of an act and it is the hearer who assigns politeness to any utterance. So the linguistic codes used by the male and female characters in the novels are found to be different in their tone. Male forms are usually more assertive and female forms more submissive.

Here are some examples of apologies used by the male and female characters in the novels:

(a) Apologies

Male form:

"I didn't know you'd been ill, "Kachru continues, "I am sorry I had no idea ... You had every right to be annoyed, Sonali, I am sorry they picked me to replace you..." (Nayantara Sehgal, *Rich Like Us*, 58)

"Sorry to disturb you, Savitri, but we thought you might again get lost, and not find the doorway of Girton" (Raja Rao, *The Serpent and the Rope*, 175)

Female form:

The female forms are marked by a typical feminine submissive tone:

"She could come to me-her voice lifting up with excuses, with implorations of forgiveness". 'Did I make u wait very long?' (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 174)

The above form of apology is in interrogative. It conforms to Lakoff's concept of feminine politeness and tentativeness in women's questions.

(b) Requests

Request is another politeness code used by both male and female characters in India English novels, though differently.

Male form

Male forms of requests are generally found to be imperative and assertive in their tone.

“Won’t you sit down, Sir”, Lala Kanshi Ram said. (Chaman Nahal, *Azadi*, 146)

Female form

The female forms of requests are found to be deferential in tone:

She bent down in front of him and touched her forehead to his feet, “Please Robi-Kakus”, she said, “Please just, this one. If you don’t like it we’ll leave. I promise.” (Amitav Ghosh, *The Shadow Lines*, 84)

The above examples lend support to Fraser’s theory of deference viz.; deference is a symbolic subordination of the speaker to the hearer.⁹⁸ As Indian women are subjected to a secondary status, they become more deferential than men while using politeness code.

(c) *Other Devices*

In Indian English fiction there are also other interesting examples of male and female politeness codes. For example, one can notice a tendency of belittling oneself or using honorifics in order to verbalize respect. For that purpose suffixation of honorific morphemes, drawn from Indian languages, is used or the expression is marked by the vocative “Sir”.

(i) *Belittling oneself*

Masculine way:

“Is that your son?” the superintendent asked. “No, Sir, No. He is your son only”, Lala Kanshi Ram replied. (Chaman Nahal, *Azadi*, 26)

Feminine way:

“With your blessings he has five acres, well, two bullocks and a brick house.” (Rama Mehta, *Inside Haveli*, 147)

(ii) *Verbalization of respect*

As an expression of over-politeness for the men of superior social status masculine politeness markers such as honorifics 'sahib' and 'huzor' are used.

"Inspector 'Sahib', we're doing nothing irregular", one of them replied in a soft tone. (Chaman Lal, *Azadi*, 79)

(iii) *Suffixation of honorific morpheme drawn from Indian languages*

The Hindi morpheme 'ji' is used in Indian English as a marker of politeness, but its use as a politeness marker is in feminine speech:

"Rosiji, please come to tea this evening", came Mona's familiar summons over telephone. (Nayantara Sehgal, *Rich Like Us*, 182)

(d) *Non-linguistic forms of politeness*

In the non-linguistic domain, the distinction between men and women in the use of their politeness codes is even more obvious. Their gestures and non-verbal behaviour clearly reveal this aspect of gender differentiation. It is believed that a polite gesture is a form of expression, which is related to the sense of appropriateness as expected by a particular society. Indian society expects women to be docile, demure and deferent in their gestures. On the contrary, it expects men to be generally assertive and dominant. Indian English fiction presents this aspect of societal behavior authentically.

(i) *Female non-linguistic forms of politeness*

Just then aunt Parvati came in demurely and gave boys some almonds and pistachio and sat down like a mouse at the feet of the big bed.

(Mulk Raj Anand, *Morning Face*, 128)

Mother had prepared food and was beginning to bake chapatis on girdle. But she waited in vain for father to grace the kitchen, because he came and lay down, on his bed... "Come then and eat", mother whispered respectfully.

(*Morning Face*, 366)

Indian society expects women even to laugh and eat quietly:

Then her composure dissolved and she began to laugh. She has to hold a pillow over her face so that my grandmother wouldn't hear her...

(Amitav Ghosh, *The Shadow lines*, 118)

Our relative smiled and bit into a thin arrowroot biscuit decorously, covered her mouth with the back of her hand as she chewed...

(*The Shadow Lines*, 135)

It is observed in Indian English fiction that women generally shy away from the presence of men other than their father and brother or husband and son. This also is considered to be expression of politeness in the Indian cultural context:

She knew there was another person with Arun, a stranger ... Only she covered her face upto her eyes with her dopatta. (Chaman Nahal, *Azadi*, 180)

During the last seven years that Sunanda Bala had been a daughter-in-law in this house, no one has seen much of her ... She even appeared before the womenfolk of the house only occasionally. (*Azadi*, 151)

(ii) *Male non-linguistic forms of politeness*

In Indian English fiction male characters have been generally portrayed as assertive and dominant in their gestures also. But here in this domain sometimes, education and class status play an important role and bring about a significant change in their non-linguistic behavior. Educated urbanite male's gesture of restricting themselves from smoking and talking irrelevantly in the presence of women may also be considered as an expression of politeness.

In fact there was little conversation. Anuradha and the young girl were the only ones to talk. Aftab did not smoke but neither did he talk. (Arun Joshi, *The Last Labyrinth*, 50)

In Indian English fiction Indian male characters are often shown as possessing double standards of politeness. They become dominant in the presence of their wives, whereas they try to appear over-polite while interacting with their beloved:

I spread my handkerchief, and said, "Sit down Rosi". (R.K. Narayan, *Guide*, 145)

Our analysis of Indian English novels shows that politeness is simply doing what is socially acceptable and expected. It also reveals that in the linguistic and non-linguistic domains of Indian English fiction both men and women use politeness codes but it is women who are more polite. The logic behind this social reality is that as women are expected by Indian society to be more polite and deferent than men and are assigned a secondary status in society, they, adhering to the social norms, become more polite than men. Their over-politeness is an expressing of their given position in Indian society. The correlation between gender and politeness codes in Indian English fiction reveals the relative social status of Indian men and women. The patterns of politeness codes vis-à-vis gender differentiation in the Western society are most likely to different.

3.3.5 Reduplication in Indian English

The fourth characteristic that of reduplication, is both syntactic and semantic, entailing reduplication of items belonging to various word classes. It might be mentioned here that Indian English users, for example, share this characteristic with the users of West African English and Black American English. In the spoken form it is not uncommon to come across examples such as he sells *different different* things, I have some *small small* things, give them *one one* piece. In the written form one can provide a large number of examples from, among others, Raja Rao or Mulk Raj Anand, e.g., *hot, hot* coffee (*The Cow of the Barricades*, 1); *long long* hair (*The Cow of the Barricades*, 71.) The reduplication is used for various syntactic and semantic reasons. In Hindi-Urdu, the reduplicated items fall into two main categories.

In one there is a choice between selecting a reduplicated item or a non-reduplicated item, with the choice entailing no semantic difference. In the second category no such choice is involved, since the reduplicated or non-reduplicated items do not have semantically 'identical' functions. Consider, for example, the following:

1. ram ne khate khate kaha ki...

Ram said while eating that...

2. ram ne khate hue kaha ki...

Ram said while eating that...

3. ram ne calte calte kaha ki...

Ram said while walking that...

4. ram ne calte hue kaha ki...

5. Ram said while walking that...

The above (1) and (2) are understood in the same way, but there are two interpretations for (3) and (4). In Indian English reduplication is used for emphasis and to indicate continuation of a process. Raja Rao seems to use it for intensification of a situation, or to underscore an act, for example: '*With these very eyes, with these very eyes, I have seen the ghosts of more than a hundred young men and women, all killed by magic, by magic...*'⁹⁹ In this example the reduplication of a phrase provides the effect of colloquial speech, as well as giving linguistic clues to mark a character type.

The high frequency of reduplication of items (often in the spoken medium) is usually noticed as an Indian English marker by the L₁ speaker of English. The reason for the reduplication of the verbs and nouns (and other items, too) is again the underlying structure of the Indian languages. This is a typological feature, which all-Indian languages share.

Reduplication is used by writers to represent the tempo and flavor of Hindi speech. Consider the following examples:

"They was *big big* books" (*The Mystic Masseur*, 11)

“You and me going to get on *good good*” (*The Mystic Masseur*, 20)

“...and all that people say about Indians not being able to keep their house properly is *true true*” (*A House for Mr. Biswas*, 349)

Partial Reduplications is also used by the writers. Examples are: “*Stop this bickering-ickering, paddling-addling, apologize-alogize, puss-fuss* (to indicate whispering).

The two types of reduplication have different functions in Indian languages and these are imported into the English of the characters, as well. Thus, full reduplication serves to emphasize or intensify the meaning or scope of the reduplicated element where partial reduplication has a generalizing (“and so an and so forth”) function.

Passé gives the following examples from Lankan English showing the transfer from Sinhalese: *punci punci keel* ‘(to cut into) small, small pieces’; *unu unu* ‘(to eat something) hot, hot’; *hemin hemin* ‘(to proceed) slowly, slowly’; *andaa andaa yanavaa* ‘to go crying crying’; *monava monava* ‘What and what (did he say) ?’; *kavuda kavuda* ‘who and who (came to the party)?’¹⁰⁰ It is not rare to find, for example, that Hindi; Telugu or Kashmiri speakers transfer this feature into their English.

3.3.6 Use of Myths in Indian English

Images and myths are significant building blocks with the help of which writers are able to give an expression to the individual experience and the collective unconscious. These devices help integrate the two in a harmonious whole. Raja Rao’s images such as *helpless as a calf, as honest as an elephant, as good as kitchen ashes, lean as an areca-nut tree, a crocodile in a lion cloth*, are typical of the Indian context and are part and parcel of day-to-day conversation. At a more literary level we have images used by Upamanyu Chatterjee and O.V. Vijayan, for example, Chatterjee talks of *eyebrows... like worms in one’s shit; thoughts that scurried in his mind uncontrollably, like rats in a damp cavern, office-goers hanging out of the door like tongues out of*

canine mouths, the woman ... as loose as a tooth about to fall and as pleased as pimp; persons trotting behind the car like some eighteenth century runners... accompanying a queen's palanquin, and so on. An addition of such images is definitely a positive gain for English. This also holds good in the case of myths. Myth has been defined as "an art of implicit metaphorical identity."¹⁰¹ Rushdie's novels illustrate how mythical motifs and references can extend the creative frontiers of literature. The mythical elements in his novels taken from diverse sources including Hindu, Greek, pre-Islamic, Islamic, Sufi, Christian and Persian mythologies have broadened the dimensions of literature. As Keith Wilson remarks, "While *Midnight's Children* will undoubtedly have resonances for an audience very familiar with Indian history and mythology that are missed by a reader who lacks that familiarity, it is significant that Rushdie makes explicit, both in factual statement and metaphor, so much of the Indian material ... all these automatic associations are made very specific in *Midnight's Children* and therefore easily accessible to an audience untutored in Indian lore"¹⁰²

The associational shift and mythological extension must be an enriching experience to Rushdie's non-Indian readers. By making an extensive use of myths in their fiction Indian English writers have not only broadened the dimension of their works from the immediate to the everlasting but has also added a deeper significance to the characters and events contained in them. Myths serve as a narrative strategy in their fiction.

Rushdie has used the technique of mythical chapter heading in *Midnight's Children* such as "Many-headed Monsters" and "Revelations." The chapter called "Many headed Monsters" recalls the evil deeds of Ravana, the mythical monarch of Lanka, as also the feats of Hanumana. Rushdie has given a new orientation to the myth of Hanumana who is instrumental in burning down the godown of Ahmed Sinai. By using the myths of Ravana and Hanuman, Rushdie effectively deplores partition and the concomitant violence and communalism. "Revelations", the title of another chapter, implicitly refers to

"The Revelations of St. John, the Divine," the last book of the New Testament.

Characters bearing mythical names such as Padma, Shiva and Parvati point out religious and mythical dimensions of the novel and carry allegorical and symbolical overtones.

The conglomeration of various myths in *Midnight's Children* creates complex patterns through the use of condensation and fragmentation. According to John J. White, condensation "refers to a pattern where a number of separate prefigurations all relate to the modern event or a single character." These patterns are richer in *Midnight's Children* than in *Grimus*. The myths appearing in the pattern of condensation are Shiva and Shakti. In the character of Shiva, who predominates in a large section of the novel, more than two characters are intermingled - Shiva the "most ferocious and powerful of the children" (282) affecting the course of Indian political and social history has an outstanding gift of war - a combined process of "Rama, who could draw the undrawable bows of Arjuna and Bhima... of Kurus and Pandavas..." (200) The common element of Shiva and the mythical characters fusing in him is strength, warlike qualities and ferocity. Rushdie has fused different mythical figures into one character to support and supplement each other, not for contradiction but for making their functions more complicated.

Rushdie's use of the Shakti-myth is another apt example of condensation. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, by description of an incarnation of Kali, is shown as one who aspires to dominate the faiths of religious people who worship different gods and goddesses. The Lady hand tries to inculcate faith in one goddess:

But I was brought up in Bombay, where Shiva Vishnu Ganesh Ahuramazda Allah and countless others had their flocks... "what about the Pantheon, I argued, the three hundred and thirty million gods of Hinduism alone? And Islam, and Bodhisattvas...?" And now the answer: "Oh, Yes! My God, million of Gods, you are right. But all are manifestations of the

same OM. You are Muslim. You know what is OM? Very well. For the masses, Our Lady is a manifestation of the OM.” (438)

The Prime Minister is called the Widow, the goddess of death for Indians, who attempts to fuse different religious faiths and combine innumerable gods and goddesses into her. Her role during the Emergency is equivalent only to the most ferocious aspect of Kali, Rushdie makes a pertinent reference to the temples of Kali in the Sunderbans with its “towering statue of a black dancing goddess... fecund and awful, with the remnants of gold paint on her teeth.” (366) In addition to these myths, other mythical and religious allusions like Olympus and Mount Kailasa (94), and Jesus Christ and Krishna (103 and 194) are Rushdie’s attempts at harmonizing contradictory religious faiths.

The myths of Ganesh, Ravana and Diana thus create a pattern, which is fragmented and complex, but the images created by them, their significance in the respective contexts, and their “catchment-area” can be safely detected. Rushdie uses most of these myths in the form of metaphors. The presentation of the myth of Ganesh in metaphorical form highlights the significance of the myth in the context of the state of the nation and historical forces operating in the oppressive era of the Emergency. Besides Saleem “who is... Ganesh-nosed...” (195), his son is described as “born with ears which flapped so high and wide that they must have heard the shootings in Bihar and the screams of the lathi-charged dock-workers in Bombay...” (420) The symbolical meanings of these metaphorical images with the state of the nation and the atmosphere of Emergency are pertinent.

The second mythical reference occurring in the form of metaphor is that of Lakshmi-Narayan. Having been named after the lotus goddess whose most common appellation amongst village folk is “The one who possesses Dung,” (24) Padma has been lent a divine status: “The lotus goddess of the present,” (150) “Dung Goddess” (31-32), “dung flower” (106) and so forth. She is living with Saleem Sinai, the narrator, even when he is “unmanned,” (39) nursing him in illness and looking after him. Saleem’s birth is forecast by

Ramram Seth in a “room on whose walls are pictures of Vishnu in each of his avatars.” (84) Rushdie’s presentation of Saleem Sinai as narrator and Padma as chorus-character and audience make the narration of *Midnight’s Children*, raising its level to the status of myth as if Vishnu is narrating to Lakshmi.

Rushdie has selected quite a few significant myths from the *Ramayana* and used them under the garb of subtle metaphors to crystallize his ideas into tangible images. The myth of Ravana is the first such metaphor. Secondly, the high ideals engendered by Rama and Sita are beautifully used metaphorically to tackle the grave question posed by the Sabarmati case. The affair between Commander Sabarmati and Homi Catrack is explained through the metaphorical presentation of the love of “Rama and Sita” (259) and the entire Sabarmati case (Nanavati Case) gives a glimpse of the mixture of myth and cheap tricks of Bombay cinema: “In the Sabarmati case, the noble sentiments of the *Ramayana* combine with the cheap melodrama of the Bombay talkie....” (262) The legal case of Commander Sabarmati poses great questions in the Rashtrapati Bhawan where his advocate has appealed for pardon. Mythical past and democratic system contend with each other:

...is India to give her approval to the career... is India to give her approval to the rule of law, or to the ancient principle of the overriding primacy of heroes? If Rama himself were alive, would we send him to prison for slaying the abductor of Sita? (264)

The metaphor is presented with exactitude to highlight the novelist’s ethical and moral viewpoint.

The metaphor of Shiva, operating as an extended metaphor in the novel, is used for Shiva-the-character who is modelled on “Shiva, the god of destruction, who is also most potent of deities, Shiva greatest of dancers, who rides on a bull, whom no force can resist....” (221) Apart from his destructive function, which has already been mentioned he stands for procreative function also:

Shiva the destroyer of *Midnight's Children*, had also fulfilled the other role lurking in his name, the function of Shiva-lingam, Shiva-the-procreator, so that at this very moment in the boudoirs and hovels of the nation, new generation of children begotten by *Midnight's* darkest child, was being raised towards future.(444-41)

The metaphorical reference to the *Mahabharata* war explains the topsy-turvy conditions of social and political life in India in the early years after Independence. Mary's belief in the rumor of Mahabharata war happening in Kurukshetra and the place where an old Sikh women witnessed "the chariots of Arjuna and Karma" and truly wheel marks in the mud" (245) amply prove that post-Independence turmoil of India was reinforced by her mythical past, and the shadows of great war over recent Indian probably indicate future failure of Indian political and social set-up leading to all-pervading chaos like the aftermath of the Mahabharata war.

The most important myth from the *Mahabharata* occurring in the form of metaphor is that of Brahma, which supports the very structure of *Midnight's Children*; Saleem's imaginary friends assembling and forming a conference in his mind is metaphorically described as the "dreamweb" of Brahma. Saleem asks:

Do Hindus not accept-Padma-that the world is a kind of dream; that Brahma dreamed, is dreaming the universe; that we only see dimly through that dream-web, which is Maya... If I say that certain things took place which you, lost in Brahma's dream, find hard to believe, then which of us is right? (211)

The metaphorical presentation of the myth of Brahma provides an answer to the improbable world created by Saleem in the novel, pointing out the fact that *Midnight's Children* and their conference form a part of Maya created by Brahma.

Rushdie has used the Shakti-myth as simile and also as metaphor in the context of "too much women" (406) that figure in *Midnight's Children* right

from Reverend Mother to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. On the mundane plane they are “the multiple faces of Bharat-Mata” (406), and on the higher level they are “the dynamic aspect of maya as cosmic energy, which is represented as the female organ.” (406) Connecting earthly women to the goddesses Saleem asks:

Too many women are they—all aspects of Devi, the goddess—who is Shakti, who slew the buffalo demon, who defeated ogre Mahisha, who is Kali Durga Chandi Chamunda Uma Sati and Parvati... and who, when active, is coloured red? (406)

Rushdie conceives post-Independence India as Kali-yuga, which also accounts for his extensive use of Hindu myths. The myth of Kali-yuga is metaphorically introduced to find out a satisfying explanation to the novelist’s grief over the evils existing in post independence India. The evils are the evils of Kali-Yuga (the Age of Darkness) hovering over free India:

Kali-yuga the loosing throw in our national dice-game, the worst of everything, the age when property gives a man rank, when wealth is equated with virtue, when passion becomes the sole bond between men and women, when falsehood brings success, is it any wonder, in such a time, that I too have been confused about good and evil? (194)

Indian English writers present myths in metaphorical form and deftly integrate them into the structure of the novel that they do not all appear to be impose upon incidents and characters. The myths appearing in the forms of precise chapter headings, mythically strengthened but fictional characters, chequered patterns and lovely metaphors tend to provide a definite mythical framework of values to their fictional *tour de force*, with the help of which they are able to analyze the complex nature and movement of history in the Indian subcontinent.

3.3.7 Caste in Indian English

The references to the Indian caste system in English (not only in Indian English) show how the items of a foreign language may be used to describe an entirely alien contextual unit. The contextual unit of caste in the typical Indian sense is absent in British culture, and any reference to it may mean either a lexical borrowing from Indian languages or an extension of the collocability of the lexical items of British English. It may also entail a rank-bound or a rank-changed transference from Indian languages.

In Indian English fiction or newspapers (especially legal and administrative reporting) we observe that, over the years, a restricted language of the caste system has evolved. In English the item caste or the caste system is used in any of the following senses:

1. for reference to the hereditary classes of the Hindu society (i.e., *Brahmana* , *Ksatriya* , *Vaisya* , *Sudra*);
2. for reference to social grouping, in any culture, on the analogy of the Indian caste system; and
3. for reference to the sub- castes in any of the four castes in (1).

In Indian English the item caste, when treated as a mode of a collocation, collocates with the following items:

Items following ‘caste’:

-basis (*Hindu*, Nov. 25, 1963); -brotherhood (*The Big Heart*, 125); -dinner (*Kanthapura*, 89); -distinction (*Untouchable*, 210); -elders (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 17); -feast, -feeling (*Untouchable*, 193); -less (*Untouchable*, 143); -mark (*Remember the House*, 204); -proud (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 171); -sanctity (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 155); -well (*Untouchable*, 33);
- union (*Music for Mohini*, 190); -vermin (*Untouchable*, 68) ; - waif (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 203)

Items preceding 'caste':

high- (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 94); inter- (*Music for Mohini*, 190) ; low- (*Music for Mohini*, 163); lowest- (*Untouchable*, 35);

out- (*Untouchable*,39); professional- (*Music for Mohini*, 142); sub- (*The Astrologer's Day, and Other Stories*,10); upper- *Untouchable*,(33)

In modes of address/reference in the caste system the following items are used:

- (a) for upper caste : high-born; high-caste (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 94); twice-born (*Untouchable*, 14), upper-caste (*Untouchable*, 33)
- (b) for lower caste: caste-less (*Untouchable*,299); low-caste (*Untouchable*, 67); lower-caste (*The Cow of the Barricades*, 9); untouchable (*Untouchable*, 177)

In the social roles also items of different ranks in Indian English are used for the two main castes, the upper caste and the lower caste. For example, there is an ordered series of word restricted to the upper caste in which the item *Brahmin* precedes:

Brahminhood (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 20); -corner (*Kanthapura*, 106); -guru (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 223); -house (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 28); -priest (*Remember the House*, 106); -land (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 285); - quarter (*Kanthapura*, 132); -role (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 109); -street (*Kanthapura*, 21); -section (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 50)

Then we have another series in which Brahmin is modified by words like *sacred*, e.g., sacred Brahmin (*The Serpent and the Rope*, 11). In the context of the upper caste a large number of items are assigned restricted semantic areas: e.g., *forehead-marking* (*Mr. Sampath*, 206); *nine-stranded thread* (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 45); *red-paste trident* (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 98)

The following sets are used for the lower caste:

- (a) chamar woman (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 107), -people (*He Who Rides a Tiger*, 107);

(b) pariah children (*Kanthapura*, 225), -girl (*Kanthapura*, 219), -kids (*Kanthapura*, 219), -looking (*Kanthapura*, 242), -mixer (*Kanthapura*, 63), -polluter (*Kanthapura*, 127), -quarter (*Kanthapura*, 19), -street (*Kanthapura*, 219), -woman (*Kanthapura*, 219);

(c) sudra corner (*Kanthapura*, 118), -lines (*Kanthapura*, 242), -street (*Kanthapura*, 31), -woman (*Kanthapura*, 24), -quarter (*Kanthapura*, 25)

In some formations one component may be the item caste which may help in contextualizing a text and assigning it to the proper contextual unit .The difficulty arises when L₂ items like defile, pollute, touch, etc., are used contextually and collocationally in an unEnglish sense.

The following three ‘sets’ will make this clearer:

1. Defile: touched me and defiled me; the defiled one; defiled by contact; defiled my house; defiled my religion; ...feet become defiled; defiling distance.
2. Touch: the touched man; touch- purify; fear of touch; untouchable; touched the dust of his feet; touched me and defiled me; touched each other while dining; touched our low-caste feet.
3. Pollute: polluting myself; polluting kitchen; fear of pollution; pollution of progeny; our community polluted; pollute the food; polluting distance.

These items could then be termed context-specific items since the contextual unit in which they operate essentially determines their meaning. Once the contextual unit is changed they become unintelligible to a native user of English.

“Indian Literature has thus always presented a panorama rather than a scene,” in a very graphic and precise manner the former president of Sahitya Akademi of India, Krishna Kripalani, describes its characteristics, “one has to look around and up and below, to see its many landscapes in proper perspective. If India is a land of contrasts, of sweltering heat and perennial snow, of fabled ease and brutalizing want, of the wisdom’s calm and the clamor of ignorance,

so is its literature many-faced, many-voiced, here primitive, there sophisticated, now inspired, now imitative, at once sublime and grotesque, exhilarating and trite. It is not easy to answer the question: what is modern Indian literature like? It is like literature nowhere else. A pantheon of many gods, with some of the gods many-headed and many armed." Kripalani's words about Indian literature can be fully applied to the characteristic features of Indian English literature.¹⁰³

To conclude we may say that, having inherited from the West, new forms and genres, Indian English literature has remained mostly Indian in essence - in content as well as in style. The specific characteristic of the present Indian literature consists in the fact that the English language is only the outer cover of expression, and that the literary philosophy and evocative system remains essentially Indian.

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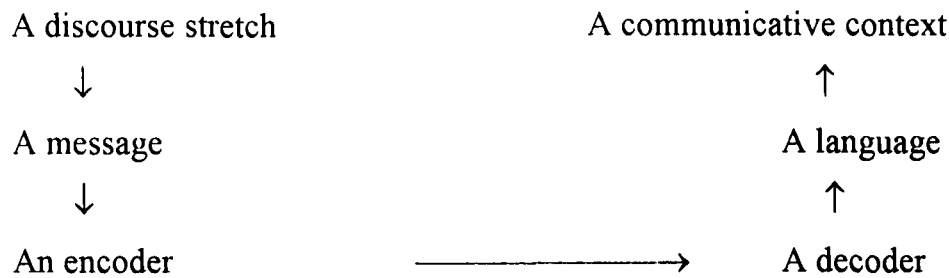
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CHAPTER 4

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine the psycho-communicative aspect of decolonization. The patterns of decolonized English are shaped and dictated by the communicative need in a plurilingual context. A psycho-communicative study of the language of media has long been accepted.¹ Perhaps this approach to a decolonized text may still need some justification. We can describe a linguistic communicative transaction in the following way:



The documentation of language contact phenomena has always been of special significance for linguistics. Above all else, it has contributed to our understanding of how a language that is used outside its natural psycho-communicative setting is able to respond adaptively to a new environment. The English spoken in countries, which have once been colonies of British Empire, provides a prototypical case in point for the study of how a language can become an adaptive instrument for its speakers. It is the language of these countries that has come, predictably, often under the linguist's microscope, providing valuable insights into the general nature of linguistic adaptation mechanisms.

The use of English in these countries reveals an interesting case of how a "transplanted" language can come to fulfill a basic practical need to express a new psycholinguistic experience. Wherever there exists a prolonged contact between a culturally and communicatively dominant language (say,

Hindi) and a foreign language (say, English,) there is bound to be an extensive borrowing of words from the dominant language (the source language) by the English (the receiving language.) Thus it is that the English in these countries develops a distinctive linguistic identity as a result of its use in an environment where another language constitutes the normal vehicle for social interaction. In fact, it can be claimed, from a psycholinguistic standpoint, that it is through these newly acquired words that the speakers comes to understand the new reality. As the loanwords pass into general currency among the speakers, they are adjusted unconsciously and systematically to the pronunciation and grammatical patterns of the receiving language. This process is referred to generally as *nativization*. Simply put, the foreign words are not accepted in their original shape, but rather restructured to conform to the articulatory and grammatical features of the dominant language whence they become indistinguishable from native words, often displacing native items with the same referents. It is the conspicuous presence of many nativized loanwords that has brought decolonized variety of English repeatedly to the attention of linguists, allowing them to document and analyze etiologically the nativization process in action.

Any communication is feasible only if the encoder and the decoder share in advance of the communicative transaction of the message. Any communication is worthwhile only if the encoder is ready to share with the decoder by virtue of the communicative transaction the remaining portion of the message. An encoder does not give a pale reflection of life, rather provides the decoder a fresh insight. Hence, in order to make the decoder share a unique sensibility, the encoder has to select words and structures and mould them in specific communicative purposes. To what extent a speaker uses language in a distinctive way vary from person to person.

Since the chapter proposes a close study of “Psycho-Communicative Aspect of Decolonization,” the chapter is concerned with the communicative

relevance of the decolonization. Nevertheless, this approach has its own weakness. Firstly, all the choices made by a speaker cannot be studied because they are innumerable. Secondly, it is impossible to study non-existing choices because language is an open-ended system. The next problem in analyzing the psycho-communicative aspect of decolonization is the unwieldy length of certain discourses.

4.2 Verbal Patterns

It is through the employment of various linguistic devices that the post-colonial writers decolonize their verbal patterns. In plurilingual societies language does not grow in insulated capsules. Rather, it coexists naturally. To elaborate this point further we can cite examples from 1991 Census report. According to the 1991 Census, among the speakers of the Scheduled languages, 8 % speakers used English as the second language and 3.15% used English as the third language.² (Table:11)

English as Second and Third Language among the speakers of Scheduled Languages (1991)

Scheduled Languages		No. of persons who know English as the second language	Percentage of Col. 3 to total speakers of the language	No. of persons who know English as the third language	Percentage of Col. 5 to total speakers of the language
Name	Total speakers				
1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Assamese	13,079,696	1,322,488	10.11	538,088	4.11
2 Bengali	69,595,738	5,052,456	7.26	1,36,168	1.78
3 Gujarati	40,673,814	620,265	1.52	3,691,582	9.08
4 Hindi	337,272,114	27,569,676	8.17	2,288,498	0.68

5 Kannada	32,753,676	3,091,484	9.44	832,763	2.52
6 Kashmiri	56,963	7,638	13.47	10,841	19.12
7 Konkani	1,760,607	381,500	21.67	232,106	13.18
8 Malayalam	30,377,176	6,692,407	22.03	704,134	2.32
9 Manipuri	1,270,216	245,230	19.31	88,507	6.97
10 Marathi	62,481,681	1,082,168	1.73	6,479,857	10.37
11 Nepali	2,076,645	84,187	4.05	86,136	4.1
12 Oriya	28,061,313	2,933,330	10.45	619,819	2.21
13 Punjabi	23,378,744	1,467,992	6.28	4,076,792	17.44
14 Sanskrit	49,736	2,651	5.33	4,714	9.48
15 Sindhi	2,122,848	1,25,724	5.92	287,160	13.53
16 Tamil	53,006,368	7,092,118	13.38	355,490	0.67
17 Telugu	66,017,615	5,460,642	8.27	1,867,606	2.83
18 Urdu	43,406,932	1,373,343	3.16	2,034,927	4.70
Total	807,441,612	64,602,299	8.00	25,440,188	3.15

Table: 11

This distribution as well as the presence of the substantial number of English speakers of every Scheduled language shows that India is a multilingual country where languages don't exist in isolation; rather they coexist along with other languages of the region. According to 1991 Census, out of total population of India, the total number of speakers who used English as their mother tongue was 1, 78,598 out of which 33.01% were monolinguals i.e., they used English only and 66.9% speakers used a second language other than English.³ (Table: 12)

INDIA

	Total	Males	Females
Total No. of English speakers	1,78,598	87,896	90,702
Monolinguals	58,960	28,657	30,303
Total number speaking a second language	1,19,638	59,239	60,399

Table: 12

Hence, we can say that in a plurilingual interaction no single language caters to all the needs of the participant. The dynamics of plural communication is characterized by the complimentary use of more than one language, and English in the post-colonial era no longer remains an “autonomous” mode of communication, as it is in the native world.

Speakers of de-colonized English control more than one language, which are used in different communicative situations. In some situations, it is used exclusively while in others it overlaps. In this organic process lexicon is the most detachable part of language. It is usual for such speakers to draw upon the resources of other language stocks in general as a matter of pragmatic convenience.

The creativity of bilingual speakers in English on a global scale, and the issues concerning nativization of discourse patterns, discourse strategies and speech acts, are a natural consequence of the unprecedented world wide users of English, mainly since the early 1920s. The phenomenon of a language with fast increasing diasporas varieties — and significantly more non-native users than native speakers — has naturally resulted in the pluricentricity of English. The sociolinguist import of this pluricentricity is that the non-native users of English can choose to acquire a variety of English which may be distinct from the native varieties. In contact literature, the bilingual’s creativity introduces a nativized thought process (e.g. Sanskritic, Malaysian) which does not conform to the recognized canons of

discourse types, text design, stylistic conventions and traditional thematic range of the English language, as viewed from the major Judaic-Christian traditions of literary and linguistic creativity.

The linguistic realization of the underlying traditions and thought processes for a bilingual may then entail a transfer of discursal patterns from one's other (perhaps more dominant) linguistic code (s) and cultural and literary traditions. Such organization of discourse strategies — conscious or unconscious — arise in different cultures has been shown in several studies on non-Western languages.

The bilinguals (or plurilingual's, if we prefer this term) use of languages may also be viewed from the perspective of possessing a linguistic or verbal repertoire functional within a specific societal network.⁴ The focus on the repertoire — within the context of the speech community — leads to a functional realism of our understanding of a bilingual's use of languages. But no speaker necessarily controls all the codes, which constitute the verbal repertoire of a speech community. Each code in the repertoire has markers (clues), which provide various types of identities essential for understanding how individuals function in a wider societal context.

An important aspect of bilingual language use in South Asia is the use of mixed codes, especially those language types involving the intercalation of elements (words, phrases, sentences) from two separate languages within single sentences. This phenomenon has been refereed to variously as 'conversational code switching', 'code mixing', as well as with language specific labels such as 'Hinglish' and 'Singlish' (Sinhala-English) in recent sociologist literature. Code mixing has been recognized as an aspect of the proficient bilingual's language use and not necessarily a manifestation of inadequate command of a second language. It has been shown to obey structural constraints on the compatibility of the 'host' and 'guest' elements in the sentence, and to serve various sociolinguistic and stylistic functions, including addressee specification, interjection, emphasis, reiteration,

quotation message qualification neutralization of identity, role identification, authentication, or technicalization, among others.

In terms of linguistic units, 'mixing' entails transfer of the units of code "a" into code "b" to at intersentential and intrasentential levels, and thus "...developing a new restricted – or not so restricted – code of linguistic interaction."⁵ It seems that a user of such a code functions, at least, in a disystem. The resultant code then has formal cohesion and functional expectancy with reference to a context.

The linguistic device of code mixing and code switching are considered as two distinct manifestations of language dependency and language manipulation. We notice these manifestations in the way a multilingual or multidialect user of a language assigns areas of function to each code, and in the development of new mixed codes of communication. We can then say that code switching and code mixing mark communicative strategies of two distinct types. In literature it seems that these two terms are alternately used for one manifestation, generally that of code switching.

In discourse, code switching may be used as a device to mark, among other things, an identity, an aside, or a specific role. The identity function, for example, is served by a switch from Telegu to Dakhini in Andhra Pradesh, or Hindi to Punjabi in Haryana.⁶ Code switching may be used to reveal or to conceal region, class and religion. In conversation it is used to make an aside, or to indicate non-membership of a person in the inner group. Often both devices are used with a clear effect in mind: for example, in Kashmiri, a professional discussion may be marked by code mixing with English, and a switch from that may indicate change of context.⁷ One might mention four other functions, in which code mixing is used as a communicative strategy. First, its use for register identification. The formal exponents of register types vary on the basis of the context in which they function. Various types of lexicalization realize the registral characteristics. For example, in administrative, political, and technological registers, Englishization takes

place. On the other hand, in the legal register, especially that of the lower courts, the main lexical source used is Persian. In literary criticism or philosophical writing in Hindi, Sanskritization usually takes place. Second, code mixing provides formal clues for style identification. In India, there are three distinct styles which may be termed Sanskritized, Persianized, and Englishized. Third, it is used as a device for elucidation and interpretation. This is particularly true of languages in which registers or terminologies have not been stabilized or have not received general acceptance. A person uses two linguistic resources in defining a concept or a term so as to avoid vagueness or ambiguity. Fourth, there is code mixing for neutralization, or what in the Prague School terminology may be automatization. The aim is to code mix in a language in order to use lexical items which are attitudinally and contextually neutral. In other words, they do not provide contextual clues and thus languages are used to conceal various types of identities. Thus, language repertoire of the speakers of decolonized English develops in complex ways.

4.3 Communicative Behavior: A tool of Decolonization

Since 1980s considerable attention has been given to the New Englishes. These institutionalized Englishes have come to be regarded as independent decolonized varieties with their own indigenous norms of usage. The most striking feature of the present sociolinguistic context is that the number of L₂ speakers of English is growing in relation to the number of mother tongue speakers (Table: 11 and Table: 12.) In India, there is a general perception among parents and pupils alike that English offers access to higher and prestigious positions. As a result of socio-economic changes, changes in the composition of the work force are likely to result in greater numbers of decolonized English speaking work force filling professional and managerial positions. As increasing number of English speaking elites come to hold higher positions in society, it is likely that the position of English speaking

elites would be strengthened. As a consequence of the improved status of its speakers the status of the decolonized Indian English would also improve.

In communicative behavior, decolonization as a tool gives people a great sense that they “own” the language. The users of the language identify themselves with the decolonized variety of English and thus it serves the integrative needs of its users better. Ethnolinguistic identity theory suggests that if learners are able to identify with the target language this would promote the learning process. The sense of “owning the language” could mean that decolonized English would in the longer term convey an Indian identity, which ultimately furthers the broad social aim of nation building. The process of decolonization may make English more accessible and better able to serve the communicative needs of the speakers.

As we know human beings through their psychic infrastructure emit, feel, project certain kinds of communicative behaviors, which are rooted in their interaction with the world of outward appearances, which is translated by the language. Hence, there are different facets of language. Some of the facets of language can be studied as:

1. Language as a communicative system.
2. Language as an aesthetic experience.
3. Language as a vehicle of identity gratification.

4.3.1 Language as a Communicative system

Diversity of code choice on a social level within one language code or across codes signifies the subtlety of purpose. The code choice in such communicative situation is highly functional and it does not emerge out of a convenience or an aesthetic choice. A choice emerging out of convenience or aesthetic consideration can be dispensed with but subtle nuances are not luxury and they cannot be dispensed with. The following examples with more or less similar cognitive import show subtle communicative nuances.

In V.S. Naipaul's *A House for Mr. Biswas*, Naipaul's characters make frequent use of agentive nominals indicating professions, e.g., *cow-herd*, *leather-worker*, *grass-cutter*, etc (105, 208.) In these examples, it is not the structure or the form of the expressions that is noteworthy but their communicative function. In Indian languages, these professional labels carry low or no prestige, and evoke negative connotations, similar to "good for nothing," etc. Said in Hindi, they are commonly used as words of abuse. These connotations, of course, do not obtain in their English counterparts. Once again the use of such expressions in a derogatory sense by Naipaul's characters serves a dual purpose. It is both an accurate rendering of the flavor of Indian colloquial speech and also an implicit statement of a value system. Similarly, the term *black water* (19), (Hindi: *kala pani*) has been used in the same novel. Here the term *black water* refers to the ocean, the crossing of which was taboo among the orthodox Hindus. However, in using the Hindi phrase Naipaul underlines the irony of the values of expatriate Indians because they seem to have forgotten that they themselves have broken the taboo by coming to Trinidad in the first place.

Reduplication is another stylistic innovation exploited by Indian English writers to represent the tempo and flavor of Hindi speech. Let us consider the following examples:

"They was *big big* books." (*The Mystic Masseur*, 11)

"You and me going to get on *good good*." (*The Mystic Masseur*, 20)

"...and all that people say about Indians not being able to keep their house properly is *true true*." (*A House for Mr. Biswas*, 349)

...*hot, hot* coffee. (*The Cow of the Barricades*, 1)

...*long, long* hair. (*The Cow of the Barricades*, 71)

Partial Reduplication is also used by the writers. Examples are: "*Stop this bickering-ickering, paddling-addling, apologize-alogize, puss-fuss* (to indicate whispering).

The two types of reduplication have different functions in Indian languages and these are imported into the English of the characters, as well. Thus, full reduplication serves to emphasize or intensify the meaning or scope of the reduplicated element where partial reduplication has a generalizing (“and so an and so forth”) function. In this way reduplication acquires a communicative value, which distinguishes it radically from psycho-semiotic signs.

There are many instances where an equivalent word is available in English, yet the native word is used. We will take some examples from Kamala Markandaya’s novels. She retains “chakkli” for cobbler, “zamindar” for landlord, “chowkidar” for watchman in order to capture the sociocultural aspect, because for instance, a cobbler is a cobbler, but when one says “chakkli” a whole hierarchy of caste, profession, etc is referred to. Then, there are those native words, which find their way in English because of the non-availability of an equivalent counter part. These words are so deep rooted in the Indian culture, religion, philosophy, etc, that they are a part of the Indian psyche. The counterparts in English if any, simply fail to raise the same images or arouse the same emotions because the word has behind it a whole multi dimensional meaning gathered over the years. These are, for example, *kum kum* (red powder used as a beauty mark by women) *namaskar* (a greeting or salutation, also a gesture specific to Indian culture) *nani* (mother’s mother) *mami* (mother’s brother’s wife), etc. The kinship pattern in India is more analytic and thus more differentiating in use and usage. In English *uncle* covers both paternal and maternal division of kinship relation of the one generation above for which Indian language (Hindi) has *chacha*, *mama*, *phupha*, *mausa* and so on. This is the motivation in retaining the kinship terms.

Therefore, when the English language is used in typically non-English contexts as in referring to the caste system or non-western social roles, various linguistic devices are used to represent such contexts. These devices

may include lexical borrowing from the local languages, extension of the communicative range of the English lexical items, or translation of native situation-dependent formations into English. The use of *forehead-marking* for the crimson caste mark which Hindus put on their fore-head, or *nine-stranded thread* for the ritualistic thread worn after initiation called *yagnopvit* by the Hindus, have communicative relevance only if viewed in the context of the Indian caste system.

- 1 Where does your wealth reside?
- 2 What honourable noun does your honour bear?

These two sentences are translations from Punjabi, an Indian language, and have been used in Indian English fiction by Khushwant Singh in his novel *Train to Pakistan*. These are actually culturally dependent polite forms for what would be equivalent to Standard English *Where do you live?* and *What is your name?* Many Indian English speakers will use these as normal speech only for comic effect, but in written English they are used by Singh for developing a typical Punjabi character in a Punjabi context. The use of all these expressions thus shows that language is a product of communicative strategy.

To sum up we may say that all these innovations or coinages serve a communicative need in decolonized writings. In some cases they have a specific connotation. These innovations and their communicative nuances are, therefore, indicative of acculturation of English in new sociocultural and linguistic contexts, and reflect its acceptance as a vehicle of non-native social norms and ecological needs.

4.3.2 Language as an Aesthetic Experience

This section will start with the reflection and analysis of the notion of the “language as an aesthetic experience.” It will first trace its origin in the suggestion that language is not merely a means of communication but a medium of understanding as well. It does not merely convey mental contents

but also arranges and even shapes them. Whenever the encoder engages a sophisticated structure, he enters the field of aesthetics. The aesthetic use of language is valuable because it brings to consciousness within a temporal sequence of events, complex situations and ideas. It brings attention to itself as a mode of expression that has to do with “a more open-ended world, breaking apart the solidified dogmas that ideologies seem to hanker for.” Given their appeal to different dimensions of human psyche, aesthetic use of language illicit a broad range of responses. While it provides information, it is also the most heightened form of language use. To appreciate the term aesthetics of language we must unpack our own preconceived assumptions in order to more understanding of the uses of aesthetics of language to a new place that serves the variety of topics discussed above.

As there are differences in the cultural norms of the communities, there are bound to be differences in the aesthetic norms as well. To fill in these cultural differences and to bridge these gaps and to get the ideas across, decolonized writers coin new words and expressions, which we call *innovations* or *coinages*. These innovations give a new flavor to the writing, which set apart these writers from the native writers of English and this is accomplished by the process of decolonization which these writers employ in their creative writings. To elaborate this point further we may cite few examples:

- (1) spoiler of my salt (*Untouchable*) for namak-haram;
- (2) may the vessel of your life never float in the sea of existence (*Coolie*) for tera bera gark ho;
- (3) may the fire of your ovens consume you (*Coolie*) for bhatthi me ja.)

In the above examples, instead of using the Indian expressions the writer has translated the Indian terms to English in order to dilute their harshness. The representation and interpretation of the collective experience are influenced by the personal as well as the community perception within one and the

same society. The factors are compounded by the different levels of ambition, courage, and capabilities. To illustrate this point further, let us take an example from R.K. Narayan's *The Dark Room*. 'After food she went to her *bench* in the hall and lay down on it, chewing a little *areca-nut* and a few *betel leaves*... (6) Savitri hovered... watching every item on his *dining leaf*... (2) Savitri gave him a *tumbler* of milk...' (2) 'I will do this *tiffin* business myself' (10) She went to the *worshipping -room* lighted the *wicks* and *incense*, threw on the images on the *wooden pedestal* handful of hibiscus, jasmine and nerium and muttered all the *sacred chants* she had learnt from her mother years ago. She *prostrated* herself before god, rose, picked up a *dining leaf* and sat down in the kitchen.' (4) All the italic words are translations-they have been used by the writer to express the aesthetics of Indian reality. They create a typical atmosphere by virtue of the fact that they are totally incongruent to the English native culture. They evoke the oriental culture of long afternoons spent at home by women, siestas, chewing betel leaves; offer food which was had on plantain leaves; it brings to mind incense and flowers and sacred chants.

There are instances where pure English equivalents of native words are present but native forms are still used. We have an English equivalent *veil* for the word *purdah* but the range of aesthetics that the word *purdah* evokes is large and cannot be related to its English equivalent *veil*, which is totally incongruent to the English native culture. The device of translation is also used for creating the local color as well as to add a distinct native Indian flavor. For example, Raja Rao's images such as *lean as an areca nut tree*, *helpless as a calf*, *as good as kitchen ashes* and *as honest as an elephant* are typical of the Indian context and are part and parcel of day to day conversation.

Role of Metaphors in Aesthetic language

Metaphors have both explanatory and aesthetic roles to play. Their explanatory function is to aid in conceptual clarification, comprehension or

insight regarding a concept or thought. However the boundary between aesthetic and explanatory use of metaphor is admittedly vague. It is against this background that the role of metaphors in aesthetic language should be placed.

Originally, metaphor was a Greek word meaning "transfer". The Greek etymology is from meta, implying "a change" and pherein meaning "to bear, or carry", thus the word metaphor meaning "carrying something across" may suggest many of the more elaborate definitions below:

- a comparison between two things, based on resemblance or similarity, without using "like" or "as" most dictionaries and textbooks
- the act of giving a thing a name that belongs to something else Aristotle
- the transferring of things and words from their proper signification to an improper similitude for the sake of beauty, necessity, polish, or emphasis Diomedes
- a device for seeing something in terms of something else Kenneth Burke
- understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another John Searle
- a simile contracted to its smallest dimensions Joseph Priestly

In language, a metaphor is a rhetorical trope defined as a direct comparison between two or more seemingly unrelated subjects. In the simplest case, this takes the form: "The (*first subject*) is a (*second subject*).". More generally, a metaphor describes a first subject as being or equal to a second subject in some way. Thus, the first subject can be economically described because implicit and explicit attributes from the second subject are used to enhance the description of the first. This device is known for usage in literature,

especially in poetry, where with few words, emotions and associations from one context are associated with objects and entities in a different context. Metaphor comprises a subset of analogy and closely relates to other rhetorical concepts such as comparison, simile, allegory and parable.

A metaphor, according to I. A. Richards in *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1936), consists of two parts: the tenor and vehicle.⁸ The tenor is the subject to which attributes are ascribed. The vehicle is the subject from which the attributes are borrowed.

All the world's a stage,

And all the men and women merely players

They have their exits and their entrances; — (William Shakespeare, As You Like It, 2/7.)

This well known quote is a good example of a metaphor. In this example, "the world" is compared to a stage, the aim being to describe the world by taking well-known attributes from the stage. In this case, the world is the tenor and the stage is the vehicle. "Men and women" are a secondary tenor and "players" is the vehicle for this secondary tenor.

The metaphor is sometimes further analyzed in terms of the ground and the tension. The ground consists of the similarities between the tenor and the vehicle. The tension of the metaphor consists of the dissimilarities between the tenor and the vehicle. In the above example, the ground begins to be elucidated from the third line: "They have their exits and their entrances." In the play, Shakespeare continues this metaphor for another twenty lines beyond what is shown here - making it a good example of an *extended metaphor*.

The corresponding terms to 'tenor' and 'vehicle' in George Lakoff's terminology are target and source.⁹ In this nomenclature, metaphors are named using the convention "target IS source," with the word "is" always

capitalized; in this notation, the metaphor discussed above would state that "humankind IS theater."

Functions of Metaphors

They enliven ordinary language: People get so accustomed to using the same words and phrases over and over, and always in the same ways, that they no longer know what they mean. Creative writers have the power to make the ordinary strange and the strange ordinary, making life interesting again.

They are generous to readers and listeners; they encourage interpretation: When readers or listeners encounter a phrase or word that cannot be interpreted literally, they have to think--or rather, they are given the pleasure of interpretation. If you write "I am frustrated" or "The air was cold" you give your readers nothing to do--they say "so what?" On the other hand, if you say, "My ambition was Hiroshima, after the bombing," readers can think about and choose from many possible meanings.

They are more efficient and economical than ordinary language; they give maximum meaning with a minimum of words: By writing "my dorm is a prison," you suggest to the readers that you feel as though you were placed in solitary, you are fed lousy food, you are deprived of all of life's great pleasures, your room is poorly lit and cramped--and a hundred other things, that, if you tried to say them all, would probably take several pages.

They create new meanings; they allow you to write about feelings, thoughts, things, experiences, etc. for which there are no easy words; they are necessary: There are many gaps in language. When a child looks at the sky and sees a star but does not know the word "star," she is forced to say, "Mommy, look at the lamp in the sky!" Similarly, when computer software developers created boxes on the screen as a user interface, they needed a new language; the result was *windows*. In poems, one often tries to

write about subjects, feelings, etc. so complex that there is no choice but to use metaphors.

They are a sign of genius: Aristotle says in *Poetics*: "[T]he greatest thing by far is to be a master of metaphor." It is "a sign of genius, since a good metaphor implies an intuitive perception of the similarity in dissimilars."

Creative ways to use metaphors

Metaphors can be used: ¹⁰

<i>as verbs</i>	The news that <i>ignited</i> his face <i>snuffed out</i> her smile.
<i>as adjectives and adverbs</i>	Her <i>carnivorous</i> pencil carved up Susan's devotion.
<i>as prepositional phrases</i>	The doctor inspected the rash <i>with a</i> <i>vulture's eye</i> .
<i>as appositives or modifiers</i>	On the sidewalk was yesterday's paper, <i>an ink-stained sponge</i> .

Examples:

Scratching at the window with claws of pine, the wind wants in. *Imogene Bolls, "Coyote Wind"*

What a thrill--my thumb instead of an onion. The top quite gone except for a sort of hinge of skin....A celebration this is. Out of a gap a million soldiers run, redcoats every one. *Sylvia Plath, "Cut"*

The clouds were low and hairy in the skies, like locks blown forward in the gleam of eyes. *Robert Frost, "Once by the Pacific"*

Little boys lie still, awake wondering, wondering delicate little boxes of dust. *James Wright, "The Undermining of the Defense Economy"*

Indian writers in English have explored this resourcefulness to a full extent. To elaborate our point further let us take some examples from Rushdie's novels:

Rushdie's metaphor usage is innovative and coherent. There are several examples of super ordinate, controlling metaphors, sustained throughout the novels, such as the children born at midnight in the novel *Midnight's Children* (who are said to be handcuffed to the history of India), the pickle jars also in *Midnight's Children*, and the spices of *The Moor's Last Sigh*. Other metaphors are part of sustained image sets, in which metaphors are mixed with the concrete and literal in semantic sets, for instance:

...my mother Aurora was *snow-white* at twenty, and what fairy tale glamour, what *icy* gravitas was added to her beauty by the soft *glaciers* cascading from her head... (*Moor's Last Sigh*, 12)

...the huge stilt-root of the mangrove trees could be seen shaking about *thirstily* in the dusk, sucking in the rain... (*Midnight's Children*, 361)

The embarrassment of her daughter's deed, the *ice* of this latest shame lent a *frozen rigidity* to her bearing. (*Shame*, 139)

While every good metaphor, according to Quintilan, has direct appeal to senses, Rushdie's are particularly sensuous, often down to earth, even brutally and nastily so. Terms denoting food, flavor, tasting, and eating, etc. occur frequently, and have an aesthetic value. In *Midnight's Children* the narrator says of himself that he has been "a swallower of life" (*Midnight's Children*, 9.) For example:

...and those *blazing* days of their *hot pepper* love (*Moor's Last Sigh*, 113.)

...never one for a quiet life, she *sucked in* the city's hot stench, *lapped up in its burning sauces*, she *gobbled its dishes up whole* (*Moor's Last Sigh*, 128.)

Fragrances as well as stench are recurrent metaphors in Rushdie. Thus, noses and smells play a particularly important role in *Midnight's Children* which are very important aesthetically; the narrator/hero is possessed of a special nose, which even smell emotions.

...and smelled the scent of danger blaring like trumpets in my nose
(*Midnight's Children*, 428)

...The perfume of her sad hopefulness permeates her most innocently solicitously remarks.... (*Midnight's Children*, 385)

In *Midnight's Children*, Rushdie has also selected quite a few significant myths from the *Ramayana* and used them under the garb of subtle metaphors to crystallize his ideas into tangible images. The myth of Ravana is the first such metaphor. Secondly, the high ideals engendered by Rama and Sita are beautifully used metaphorically to tackle the grave question posed by the Sabarmati case. The affair between Commander Sabarmati and Homi Catrack is explained through the metaphorical presentation of the love of "Rama and Sita" (259) and the entire Sabarmati case (Nanavati Case) gives a glimpse of the mixture of myth and cheap tricks of Bombay cinema: "In the Sabarmati case, the noble sentiments of the *Ramayana* combine with the cheap melodrama of the Bombay talkie" (262) The legal case of Commander Sabarmati poses great questions in the Rashtrapati Bhawan where his advocate has appealed for pardon. Mythical past and democratic system contend with each other:

...is India to give her approval to the career... is India to give her approval to the rule of law, or to the ancient principle of the overriding primacy of heroes? If Rama himself were alive, would we send him to prison for slaying the abductor of Sita? (264)

The metaphor is presented with exactitude to highlight the novelist's ethical and moral viewpoint.

Similarly, the metaphor of Shiva, operating as an extended metaphor in the novel, is used for Shiva-the-character who is modelled on “Shiva, the god of destruction, who is also most potent of deities, Shiva greatest of dancers, who rides on a bull, whom no force can resist” (221) Apart from his destructive function, which has already been mentioned he stands for procreative function also:

Shiva the destroyer of Midnight’s Children, had also fulfilled the other role lurking in his name, the function of Shiva-lingam, Shiva-the-procreator, so that at this very moment in the boudoirs and hovels of the nation, new generation of children begotten by Midnight’s darkest child, was being raised towards future (444-41).

The metaphorical reference to the *Mahabharata* war explains the topsyturvy conditions of social and political life in India in the early years after Independence. Mary’s belief in the rumour of Mahabharata war happening in Kurukshetra and the place where an old Sikh women witnessed “the chariots of Arjuna and Karma” and truly wheel marks in the mud” (245) amply prove that post-Independence turmoil of India was reinforced by her mythical past, and the shadows of great war over recent Indian probably indicate future failure of Indian political and social set-up leading to all-pervading chaos like the aftermath of the Mahabharata war.

The most important myth form the *Mahabharata* occurring in the form of metaphor is that of Brahma, which supports the very structure of *Midnight’s Children*; Saleem’s imaginary friends assembling and forming a conference in his mind is metaphorically described as the “dreamweb” of Brahma. Saleem asks:

Do Hindus not accept-Padma-that the world is a kind of dream; that Brahma dreamed, is dreaming the universe; that we only see dimly through that dream-web, which is Maya... If I say that certain things took place which you, lost in Brahma’s dream, find hard to believe, then which of us is right? (211)

The kind of imagery, metaphor and symbolism used by the decolonized writers gives English language a distinct tang. 'Commotion preceded her like a band of langurs' (*Fire on the Mountain*, 107) ...putting her into a flutter of shrill thanks that carried all the way up to the gate like the cackle of an agitated parrot' (*Fire on the Mountain*, 111) The symbols that are employed to express the aesthetics of Indian cultural enrich the English language and impart to it a lot of mystery and supernaturalism. For example, '... and one day she beckoned me near and placed in my hand a small stone lingam', a symbol of fertility (*Nectar in a Sieve*, 18.)

In *The Dark Room* Narayan takes us to the small office of the Insurance Company situated in a South Indian middle class town; with Markandaya we are shown the very poor farmers in a South Indian village and in Desai we meet the graceful Nanda Kaul in Kasauli. The atmosphere evoked takes us right into the nature of the place. In *Fire on the Mountain* we see the heat. 'The sunlight thickened No longer lacquer, it turned to glue. Flies, too lazy for flight, were caught in its midway web and buzzed languorously, voluptuously, slowly unsticking their feet and crawling across the ceilings, the windowpanes, the varnished furniture. Inside, the flies. Outside, the cicadas. Everything hummed, shrilled, buzzed and fiddled till the strange rasping music seemed to material out of the air itself, or the heat.' (*Fire on the Mountain*, 22)

All these examples highlight variability in language activity in the sense that language is used not only as a communicative strategy but also as a means of aesthetic expression.

4.3.3. Language as a vehicle of identity gratification

A sense of identity is a perennial sustaining creative force in a writer. It would be difficult to realize adequately the magnitude of the problem of loss of identity, as it could be the root cause of all problems. The loss of identity would make a person a pathetic figure, his voice being an echo, his life a quotation, his soul a brain, and, his free spirit a slave to things.

Decolonization has tended to uphold a resurgent 'nationalism,' which rejects colonial style. The process of decolonization overcomes the psychological damage of racial colonialism. It is part of a deliberate anti colonial strategy. Decolonization has been used as a step in the process of dismantling the imperialist centralism. It is a mental process, a deliberate attempt to break free of the shackles of the colonization, therefore establishing a free status. Decolonization is employed as a communicative strategy by the writers, a tool to create a language of their own and their own way of looking at things, thereby asserting their own identity. The language of decolonized writers registers a deliberate and calculated shift from the norm and standard of conventional language. Decolonization reflects a change in mentality, the writers consciously aim at reorienting the language; modes and expressions of the native language have recognized national rather than imported significances and references and convey local realities, traditions and ways of feeling.

Decolonized writers consider language a plaything, to be twisted, turned and moulded as required for the purpose. They are no longer worried about the correctness of the English language and are playfully free of the rules and regulations of English language writing. So when Kamala Das remarks,

Why not let me speak in
Any language I like?
The language I speak
Becomes mine, its distortions, its queerness

All mine, mine alone, she is raising an important issue. The choice she and other decolonized writers crave to make is in respect of the mode capable of wrenching a place for them in contexts, which give a distinct identity.

The form and functions of decolonized English are significantly different from those of the native varieties of English. Dustoor in context to Indian English claimed in 1950s "there will always be a more or less indigenous flavor about our English. In our imagery, in our choice of words, in the

nuances of meaning we put into our words, we must be expected to be different from Englishmen and Americans alike.”¹¹ The language thus recreated would honestly be expressive of our national temperament and will considerably enrich the English language. Same is true for the literature created in other decolonized Englishes. Thus, the language developed by the decolonized writers realize the power of their inheritance, the complexity of their experiences and the uniqueness of their voices.

Many decolonized writers like Mulk Raj Anand are of the view that the King’s (or the Queen’s) English is inadequate for an Indian writer writing in English. English language as used by the Britishers or Americans, he says, “seemed a completely unsuitable medium to interpret my mother’s village Punjabi wit, wisdom and folly”, in which “there are inevitable echoes of the mother tongue.”¹² So it seemed necessary to decolonize or nativize the English language.

An artist’s creativity finds an outlet in appropriate forms. Rushdie believes that artistic modes keep on changing constantly. Art, he affirms, “must constantly strive to find new forms to mirror an endlessly renewed world.” Any attempt to impose a unitary form will kill art. In an article significantly entitled, “The Empire Writes Back with a Vengeance,” which appeared in the 3 July 1982 issue of the London *Times*, Rushdie wrote about the decolonizing of the English language by such writers as Chinua Achebe, Ngugi wa Thiong’o, Nadine Gordimer and R.K. Narayan. “The English language,” he rightly maintains, “ceased to be the sole possession of the English some time ago.”¹³ All these writers seemed to be busy forging English into new shapes. In order to elaborate our point further, we will take up some examples from Indian English novels. Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children* best illustrates the strategy or method of Indianising, revitalizing and de-colonizing the English language. While going through it we come across expressions like the following:

the chutnification of history, writery-shitery, baap-re-baap, feringhee, clock- ridden, history-free, angrez, sab kuch, pyar kiya to darna kya, itr, zanana, godknowswhat, nearlynine, once-upon-a time wife, what-happened nextism, hai-hai, fauj, 'our little piece of the moon', funtoosh, joke-shoke, pumpery-shumpery, etc.

Right from anagrams of *Grimus* to metaphoric coinages in *Haroun*, Rushdie has taken liberty with English deliberately. He is using language "unproblematically" to enhance the process of abrogating and replacing the English language on the one hand and on the other hand forges a multilingual medium to capture the 'polyglossic' and multicultural reality of India. Since language is a primary means of defining the self, Rushdie, as an avowedly writer, seizes the language of the center and replace it in a discourse fully adapted to the cultural ambience of India, thereby reasserting his identity.

The linguistic resources of English have been fruitfully exploited by decolonized writers for creative purposes. In order to give their writings a new identity, these writers have put their "language resources to an accustomed strain", and the language is being moulded to yield a new idiom.

Like Rushdie, the language that Arundhati Roy uses in *The God of Small Things* evinces a penchant for forging innovative English. What Roy seeks to do is to forge a Bharat brand of English or a brand of English that very often deviates from the standard conventions. Roy uses words like keto (meaning 'do you hear'), valarey (meaning 'quite') in the sentence, "Thanks, Keto!" he said, "Valarey thanks!" (70), 'Poda Patti' (meaning 'go dog') in the sentence, "Hup! Hup! Poda Patti" (90) and words like Porketmunny (102) etc, to give the novel its distinctive cultural identity and an indigenous look. One may also notice her use of telescoped words-two or three words dovetailed into each other: lefrightlef (141), pleasetomeetyou (212), Bluegreyblue (238), mydearjudges (271), etc. These compressions are among the many subversive licenses taken by the postcolonial writers to

break away from the norms of Standard English. Thus, it would be needless to say that the language of Roy registers a deliberate and calculated shift from the norm and standard of conventional English.

Barkha Dutt, managing director, *NDTV 24X7* holds the view that, "The English we speak and write today is as Indian as butter chicken and as global as McDonald's French fries. We have thrown the stock into our melting pot, embellished it with the spices we like and made it into a dish that is not only our very own, but perfect for visitors as well." In other words, "Indian English is both home-grown and foreign. We speak it in our own peculiar accents, we spell differently from the Americans and we specialize in Indianisms." She further adds, "Our brand of English is, at the very least, perfectly functional. It is our competitive edge in the global wrestling ground. We have to stop being embarrassed about it. Instead, we need to embrace it and hold it tight. It is what sets us apart from the pack."¹⁴

To sum up, we may say that post colonial or decolonized writers in many diglossic societies like Africa and India forge a language in cross-cultural texts which not only seeks to assert a new power of creativity, but to give the language a distinctive look. What these writers do is that they use a language which is different from the language of power and give themselves an amplitude of freedom which conformity to the metropolitan/standard variety so far denied. This reorientation of language not only enables the novelist of the decolonized writings to perceive and communicate his experience of a hybridized and complex cultural reality but also to lend it an impact of immediacy, to help capture the natural rhythms of native speech habits and of the basic tenor of the local life.

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CHAPTER 5

In this chapter we aim at summarizing the discussions carried out in earlier chapters and draw conclusion from the deliberation carried out in different sections of this study.

5.1 Summary

In this study an attempt has been made to analyze the psycholinguistic aspects of decolonization of English in India, where the linguistic plurality dominates the linguistic purism. We have tried to analyze the linguistic features of Colonial and Decolonized English to highlight the similarities and dissimilarities between the two.

Chapter 1 focused on the English language-its geographical distribution, its varieties and how English is being used as a global language. Following this we have discussed Indian English and its status in the world scenario, the arrival of English in India, words which are unique to Indian English, Indian English literature and British and American influences on Indian English. The next portion of this chapter deals with aims and objectives of the present work, its theoretical background, followed by review of the existing material and relevance of the present work.

Accident or providence; at the beginning of the third millennium English has clearly established itself as the leading language of the world. It is spoken around the globe as either first or the second language and this widespread use and distribution has quite naturally led to the emergence of several distinct varieties so that global situation today is comparable to the fragmentation of single countries, like Great Britain, into dialect areas. English is the dominant language of the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, the Republic of Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and a number of other countries. It is extensively used as a second language and as an official language in many other countries, and is the most widely taught and understood language in the world, often earning it the title 'the language of trade, academia and diplomacy.' An estimated 300-400 million people speak English as their first language. One recent estimate is that 1.9 billion people,

nearly a third of the world's population, have a basic proficiency in English. English is the dominant international language in communications, science, business, aviation, entertainment, diplomacy and the internet.

English has often been referred to as a "global language," the lingua franca of the modern era. While English is not an official language in many countries, it is currently the language most often taught as a second language around the world. The new English speakers aren't just passively absorbing the language- they are shaping it. New Englishes are mushrooming the globe over, ranging from "Englog," the "Tagalog," infused English spoken in the Phillipines to "Japlish," the cryptic English poetry beloved of Japanese copywriters.

Indian English is a catch all phrase for the dialects or varieties of English spoken widely in India (by about 11% of the population, according to the 1991 Census) and the Indian subcontinent in general. The dialect is also known as South-Asian English. Due to British colonialism that saw an English speaking presence in India for over two hundred years, a distinctly South Asian brand of English was born.

India is estimated to have over 18 million people using English as a necessary part of their daily working lives. This means that India vies with Canada as the country with the greatest number of English speakers after U.S.A. and U.K. The prolonged contact between English and Indian languages has brought in its wake the inevitable effect of linguistic convergence. This linguistic convergence has manifested itself in different ways. One consequence of convergence has been the so-called Englishization of Indian languages. On the other hand, English itself, through its prolonged contact with Indian languages, as well as due to its use by Indians with varied linguistic background and varying levels of competence in English, has been 'Indianized' in as much as there have been phonological and morpho-syntactic adjustments in English, adjustments that can be attributed to the influence of Indian languages and culture. Thus, the present position of English in India is as follows: it is a non-Indian language

which is recognized constitutionally as the Associate National Official Language and as inter-regional link language; educationally it is recognized as an essential component of formal education, and as the preferred medium of learning, with specialized education in science and technology available through the medium of English only; socially it is recognized and upheld as a mark of education, culture and prestige. The polity and society confers great value on the learning of English, gives it enormous paying potential, thus creating a great demand for English-knowing Indian bi-multilinguals. English is now used in India “as an Indian language” and is employed as a mode of literary expression. To Rushdie, it is an “essential language” in India because of its technical vocabulary and its role in international and inter-state communication.

Indians frequently inject words from Indian languages, such as Bengali, Kannada, Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil, and Urdu into English. While the currency of such words usually remains restricted to Indians and other Indian subcontinentals, there are many which have been regularly entered into the *Oxford English Dictionary* as their popularity extended into worldwide mainstream English. Some of the more common examples are “jungle,” “bungalow,” “bandana,” “pyjamas” and others were introduced via the transmission of Indian culture, examples of which are “mantra,” “karma,” “avatar,” “pundit” and “guru”. The lead character in the pop sitcom “Dharma and Greg” has an Indian name “Dharma.” The research holds the view that decolonization is employed as a communicative strategy by the writers to create a language of their own and their own way of looking at things, thereby asserting their own identity. The study also attempts to see decolonization as a step in the process of dismantling imperialist centricism. The research presents a “peripherist” view of English language use in India. In this study, we define “peripherism” as the ideology or view of those groups that have historically been linguistically subalternized and disenfranchised but that has now due to the market forces of globalization gained access to linguistic focus. During British colonialism English was a

tool of linguistic hegemony and linguisticism but today English in India is an agent of decolonization that enables the urban middle class to access the global economy. The aim of this study is to highlight the social and cultural features of the Indian way of life. The focus is mainly on lexical coinages as manifested in the writings of South Asian English writers. The study aims to highlight the Psycho-Communicative aspect of decolonization; because it believes that the patterns of Decolonized English are shaped and dictated by the communicative need in a plurilingual context. In review, we collected and briefly discussed the works previously done on decolonization of English by different writers and how these writers have studied, analyzed and worked on numerous aspects of decolonization. It was out of scope of the present work to examine each and every writer as well as the works done in all the spheres, so we selected a few notable writers who have worked on a considerable portion of decolonization. Some others who have neither studied decolonization as a whole, nor produced any detailed and engaging study on an aspect of decolonization were included for their importance in forming an opinion on decolonization and world context.

Chapter 2 briefly discussed Queen's English, Received Pronunciation followed by a fundamental article on two established varieties of English, i.e., British English and American English, their sound system, word formation processes, sentence structure and so on. The next section of this chapter deals with the differences between these two varieties of English, differences at phonetic, grammatical and syntactic levels respectively.

Chapter 3 investigated the process of decolonization of English language and how Indian English writers have employed decolonization as a communicative strategy. This is followed by a section on linguistic peculiarities of Indian English, which includes phonetic and phonology of Indian English, grammar of Indian English, lexis of Indian English and some other features typical to Indian English such as reduplication, linguistic politeness codes in Indian English and myths and caste in Indian English.

English in India is not simply a linguistic phenomenon. It gains more dimensions when we examine its goals and implementation on the temporal plane. English in India has a “Colonial” past and a “Decolonized” second language present. A multilingual, multicultural, multireligious, and multiethnic, Indian society has decolonized English in India. Therefore the process of decolonization has a shade of linguistic plurality. As a result there is no “the English” any more in the world. The process of decolonization of English in India includes using language unproblematically which on the one hand enhances the process of abrogating and replacing the English language and on the other hand forges a multilingual need to capture the polyglossic and multicultural reality. The post-colonial writers consider language a plaything, to be twisted, turned and moulded as required for the purpose. They are no longer worried about the correctness of English language and are playfully free of the rules and regulations of English language writing. In decolonizing the English language, the post-colonial writers employ various linguistic strategies like using a number of native words, translating certain characteristic expressions, idioms and sayings of native language into English and imposing the native speech rhythms of the English language spoken by the native characters.

Chapter 4 looked in the Psycho-communicative aspect of Decolonization. It discusses the communicative relevance of the decolonization. It is followed by a discussion on verbal patterns of speakers in plurilingual societies. The next portion of the chapter deals with different facets of language like language as a communicative system, language as an aesthetic experience and language as a vehicle of identity gratification.

The patterns of decolonized English are shaped and dictated by the communicative need in a plurilingual context. The use of English in India reveals an interesting case of how a “transplanted” language can come to fulfill a basic practical need to express a new psycholinguistic experience. In a plurilingual interaction no single language caters to all the needs of the participant. The dynamics of plural communication is characterized by the

complimentary use of more than one language, and English in the post-colonial era no longer remains an “autonomous” mode of communication, as it is in the native world.

5.2 Conclusion

The study was motivated primarily to explore the idea of creativity as a marker of “decolonization” and to probe it vis-à-vis growth and development of decolonization in the writings of Indian English writers. The study was, thus, set forth with the aim to investigate the decolonized language patterns contributing to the organization of the text as a coherent material. The study has largely sought to examine various characteristics of “decolonized” textual organization. The process of decolonization has affected English from phonological to lexical to syntactic to semantic level. In the present study a number of decolonized features of Indian English have been established which sets it apart from other varieties of English. In this study it has been found that Indian English writers make greater efforts to employ decolonization as a communicative strategy to create a language of their own in order to assert their own identity and their own way of looking at things. Hence, Indian English registers a deliberate and calculated shift from the norms of conventional English. Indian writers in English have infused the tempo of Indian life into their English expressions by harnessing their philosophical, mythological, cultural and socio-political resources of language in installing the Indian soul in English body. A judicious use of conversational expressions and natural items of Indian locale has proved to be effective in giving Indian identity to an alien language. The recurrent imagery and myth, themes and characters help them capture the Indian ethos. Analysis of the data in the present study has revealed that Indian English writers aim at reorienting the language and synthesizing Indian and European values in contemporary Indian English writings. The study has shown that there are qualitative changes occurring within organizational patterns in the writings of the Indian English writers. For example, the

lexical pattern of Indian English writers show many distinctive and kaleidoscopic aspects of meaning and structures, which are not found in British or American English. Native speakers of English tend to be direct in stating the facts; however, Indian English writers use different communicative strategies to decolonize English patterns. The study shows that Indian English speakers use elaborated reasons in support of their opinion by using a wider variety of the argumentative text idioms like I feel, I think etc.

The study has shown how the patterns of decolonized English are shaped and dictated by the communicative need in a plurilingual context. Any communication is feasible only if the encoder and the decoder share in advance the communicative transaction of the message. Hence, in order to make a decoder share a unique sensibility, the encoder has to select words and structures and mould them in specific communicative purposes. We also found out how plurilingual societies are characterized by the complimentary use of more than one language, and that English in the post-colonial era has no longer remained an “autonomous” mode of communication, as it is in the native world. We also concluded that speakers of de-colonized English control more than one language, which they use in different communicative situations.

Although it needs to be further explored, however, there is enough ground to say that post colonial writers decolonize their verbal patterns by employing various linguistic devices. Some of the strategies employed by Indian English writers in decolonizing the English language are: (i) using a number of native words; (ii) using translations of certain characteristic expressions; idioms and sayings; (iii) imposing the syntax of the native language without, however doing great violence to English grammar; (iv) imposing the native speech rhythms of the English language spoken by the native characters. The motivation in the use of native words and expressions is the deliberate attempt on the writer's part to convey native-ness.

Future research enterprises may take up the lead from these findings and cover a wide spectrum of textual organization in relation to decolonization of English.

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